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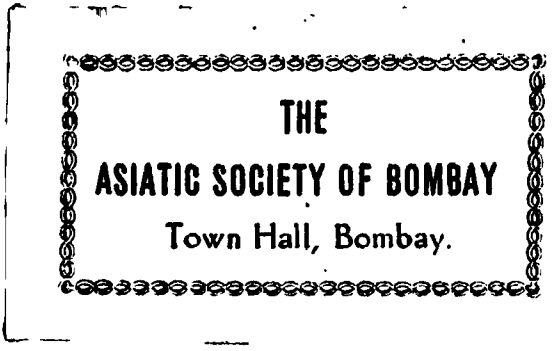

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DIARY

OF A MARCH THROUGH

SINDE AND AFFGHANISTAN,

WITH

B 619

THE TROOPS UNDER THE COMMAND OF GENERAL SIR WILLIAM NOTT, K.C.B., &c.

AND

103 71

SERMONS DELIVERED ON VARIOUS OCCASIONS DURING THE CAMPAIGN OF 1842.

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BY

THE REV. I. N. ALLEN, B.A.

ASSISTANT CHAPLAIN ON THE HON. EAST INDIA COMPANY'S BOMBAY ESTABLISHMENT.

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TO

LIEUTENANT-COLONEL HIBBERT, C.B.,

AND THE

OFFICERS AND SOLDIERS OF H.M. 40TH REGIMENT OF FOOT,

THESE MEMORIALS,

OF A CONNEXION

RENDERED HIGHLY PLEASURABLE

BY THEIR ATTENTION, KINDNESS, AND FRIENDSHIP,

ARE RESPECTFULLY AND AFFECTIONATELY DEDICATED

BY THEIR FAITHFUL FRIEND

THE AUTHOR.

PREFACE.

THE Author, in submitting the following pages to the public, begs that they will do him the justice not to expect more from them than their title indicates. He has no pretensions to the character of an historian, either of the countries through which he passed, or of the campaign a portion of which it was his lot to witness. The book is strictly a recital of personal adventures, in which it has been his endeavour to distinguish clearly between what he saw himself, and what was told him by others, and to touch upon occurrences with which he was not personally concerned no more than was absolutely requisite for preserving the connexion of his narrative. His journal was kept, in the first instance, with no further view than the amusement of his own family, and was sent to England in letters, month by month; subsequently, when all communication was stopped, the materials gradually accumulated, so as to form a volume, which, it

was conceived, might be interesting to the public as well as those for whom they were originally intended, especially as the Author was not aware that any one else proposed to give this portion of the campaign to the world. His situation afforded him many facilities for observation, and, not being a military man, he will not be suspected of professional partiality in the testimony he has borne.

The sermons have been added, as conveying the reflections suggested by the most memorable incidents of the campaign more conveniently than could always be done in the progress of the narrative, though it is hoped that nothing has been said, under circumstances of so much hurry and excitement, inconsistent with their tenor and object.

It will be soothing to the feelings of those whose friends were numbered among the victims of the Affghanistan war, to know that not only was such honour paid their remains as the circumstances allowed, but that a church is in progress of erection at Colabah, near Bombay, as the most christian and appropriate mode at once of commemorating the dead, and testifying the gratitude of the living.

Bombay, March 29, 1843.

SINDE AND AFFGHANISTAN.

CHAPTER I.

SKETCH OF THE DOORAUNEE EMPIRE.

As Affghanistan, a few years since but little known or cared for by Englishmen, has now acquired an interest in their estimation which will not soon be lost, first, as the scene of military triumph, and then, fearful reverse! the grave of a large British force; as the Dooraunee empire has been the daily theme of journals; and Dooraunee orders have been profusely showered upon military men and diplomatists, it may not be amiss, before entering on my narrative, to give a slight outline of the rise and history of the Dooraunee monarchy. Names of men and of places will

read more pleasantly and intelligibly, when some previous information has been given as to who, and what, and where they are. It is obvious that a sketch of this kind can pretend to no originality. Any one who is disposed may read in Mr. Elphinstone's or Mr. Conolly's work, (my own sources of information,) far more than I shall give him. I merely abridge their accounts for the information of those who either have not their works at hand, or who do not care to know more upon the subject than will enable them clearly to understand what follows.

It is not easy to state the limits of the Dooraunee monarchy, since several parts have been rent from it, and over others it possesses little more than a nominal sovereignty. It is, according to Elphinstone, "bounded on the east by Hindoostan, on the south it may be generally said to have the Persian Gulf, and on the west, a desert extends along the whole of the frontier. Its northern frontier is formed by the mountains of the Eastern Caucasus, which are, however, included within the western part of the boundary, there formed by the Oxus." Its population probably exceeds fourteen millions, and is thus divided: Affghans 4,300,000; Belooches 1,000,000;

Tartars of all descriptions 1,200,000; Persians 1,500,000; Indians and miscellaneous tribes 6,000,000. The capital is Kabul. The features of the country are, for the most part, wild and barren. Sinde is flat and sandy; Affghanistan, on the contrary, abounds with snow-clad mountains, and difficult passes; it experiences great extremes of heat and cold, and the changes are often sudden. Its mountains and passes are, to the utmost degree, wild, rocky, barren, and desolate, but many of the plains are highly productive. It has most of the European fruits, but timber trees are scarce in Sinde, and in Affghanistan almost unknown. The people are a fine race, tall, athletic, and handsome; in Affghanistan they are remarkably fair, many of them scarcely darker than Europeans; they are accustomed to war from their childhood, and the history of their country, so far as we know it, presents a continual struggle between rival competitors for power—a series, with scarcely an intermission, of anarchy, blood, and confusion. They are strict Mahommedans, of the Soonee sect, i. e., acknowledging, as lawful successors of Mahomed, the first three caliphs, whereas their opponents, the Sheahs, reject

these, and consider Ali, the fourth caliph, as the first lawful successor of the prophet.

But very little is known of the Dooraunees before the time of Nadir Shah, who attacked and reduced them to submission in A. D. 1728. At the beginning of the seventeenth century they paid tribute to Persia, and appear to have had the name of Abdaullees.

After the death of Nadir Shah, in 1747, Ahmed Shah, head of the Suddozyes, a clan of Abdaullees, seized the government and was crowned at Kandahar, being then twenty-three years of age. He, in consequence of a dream of the famous saint at Chumkunee, changed the name of his tribe from Abdaullees to Dooraunees, and himself took the title of Shah Dooree Dooraun. The clans of the Dooraunees may be thus stated:—

Populzye, from the Suddozye division of which clan the royal family springs; it is probable that the Suddozyes were the patriarchal heads of the whole tribe.

Allekozye.

Baurikzye, the clan of which Dhost Mahomed is the present chief, exceedingly powerful in numbers and influence.

Atchikzye.

Noorzye, a clan equally numerous with the Baurikzyes.

Alizye.

Iskhaukzye.

Khongaunee.

Maukoo.

Ahmed Shah was an active and enterprising warrior, and equally distinguished as a patron of literature. He framed his government on the Persian model, and extended his conquests from Meshed to Delhi. His life was passed in a series of military expeditions against the Mahrattas and the Siks, and in quelling rebellions in various parts of his extended dominions, which were no sooner suppressed in one quarter than they broke out in the opposite. He died of cancer in the face in June 1773, in the fiftieth year of his age.

He was succeeded by his son, Timour Shah, born at Meshed, December 1746. His distinguishing characteristic was indolence, which rendered him incapable of holding together the various tribes which his father had conquered. His reign was disturbed by numerous insurrections in Balkh, Khorassan, Seestan, and Kashmere. In 1789 he marched from Kabul, with an army of 100,000 men, against Shah Morad Bey, king of Bokhara,

who, however, offered conditions of peace, which were accepted. In the spring of 1793, Timour Shah was taken ill on a journey from Peshawur, and died at Kabul, 20th of May, 1793. Upon his death a struggle ensued between his numerous sons for the monarchy, which was obtained by Shah Zeman, but after a reign of seven years, he was, in 1800, deposed and blinded by his half-brother Shah Mahmood, who obtained the sovereignty by the help of Futteh Ali Khan, chief of the Baurikzyes.

This remarkable man, who occupies the most conspicuous position in the history of Affghanistan for the ensuing eighteen years, was far more deserving of the name of king-maker than the celebrated Earl of Warwick, who bears that name in English history. His talents, courage, and want of principle, will be abundantly exemplified, even in the slight outline which follows.

September 10, 1801, Shah Soojah ool Moolk, whose name has become sufficiently familiar to us all during the last three years, the full brother of the deposed monarch Zeman, proclaimed himself king, and marched from Peshawur upon Kabul, but was defeated by Futteh Ali Khan, and fled to the Kyber Hills.

After various unsuccessful attempts he, at length, in 1802, defeated Futteh Khan, and deposed and confined Mahmood; but, to his honour it should be recorded, he did not retaliate upon him, by blinding him, the cruelty which he had shown to his brother, Shah Zeman. He next sent an expedition against Futteh Khan and Prince Kamran, son of Shah Mahmood, who retained possession of Kandahar. It was successful, and Futteh Khan tendered his submission to Shah Soojah, but the terms he offered were not accepted, and he retired in disgust to his own castle at Girishk. His restless spirit speedily impelled him again into intrigue; and, in 1804, he incited Prince Kyser, son of Shah Zeman, who had been entrusted by his uncle, Shah Soojah, with the government of Kandahar, under the guidance of Ahmed Shah, to imprison Ahmed Shah, and declare himself king. Ahmed Shah was accordingly seized, but when the prince and Futteh Khan marched against Kabul, he was released, and reinstated in the command of the city. His son joined Shah Soojah. Prince Kyser and Futteh Khan were defeated, and Ahmed Shah immediately delivered up Kandahar to Prince Kamran. Prince Kyser upon this made his submission,

and was forgiven by Soojah, who certainly shines conspicuously among his countrymen for his clemency.

His plans, with regard to Prince Kyser, being thus frustrated, Futteh Khan repaired to Herat, and persuaded Haji Ferooz, another brother of Shah Soojah, to assert his right to the throne of Kabul. Ferooz accordingly took up arms, and Shah Soojah sent a force against him, commanded by Prince Kyser, who had instruction at the same time to offer him terms, Soojah being probably aware of the extent to which the valour of Haji Ferooz was tempered by discretion: the terms were immediately accepted, and Futteh Khan, quitting his cautious protegé in indignation, once more retired to Girishk. Prince Kyser, anxious to wipe off the memory of his rebellion, amongst other pieces of service to Shah Soojah, contrived to seize Futteh Khan, and was about to gratify the revenge of his father, Shah Zeman, by putting him to death. Futteh Khan, however, obtained a private interview, and by those powers of persuasion which he appears to have possessed in such a remarkable degree, so wrought upon the young prince, that he not only spared his life, but entered with him into a fresh plot against his uncle's throne.

Futteh Khan retired to Girishk, and having matured his plans, advanced to Kandahar, where he found Prince Kyser, under the influence of Kojeh Mahomed Khan, a powerful chief, who dissuaded him from rebellion. Futteh Khan, incensed at this counter influence, renounced all connexion with Prince Kyser, and engaged to deliver Kandahar to Kamran, who advanced upon the city. Kyser, about to fly, requested a last interview with Futteh Khan. They met at night, by torch-light, and the interview began with mutual recriminations, but it terminated in a manner which would seem scarcely credible among civilized nations. It is clear that Futteh Khan had a regard for Prince Kyser, but whether in this instance he was swayed by the impulse of the moment, or whether he had invited Kamran to bend the other to his purposes, must be left to conjecture. Prince Kyser reminded him that he owed him his life, and Futteh Khan, in his turn, recapitulated his favours to Kyser, and complained of neglect. Kyser, upon this, swore to follow him implicitly; whereupon Futteh Khan relented, and finally swore to support him in all extremities. The following morning they marched out together to oppose Kamran!

Futteh Khan advanced with his division, and telling Kamran his change of views, *kindly* advised him to retire. Kamran, as soon as he had satisfied himself that he was in earnest, answered him with defiance. Upon which Futteh Khan, without the assistance of Kyser, charged and utterly routed him. Shah Soojah, in the meantime, had strengthened his throne by the conquest of Kashmere, and Kojeh Mahomed retaining his influence, contrived to dissolve the connexion between Prince Kyser and Futteh Khan, and the latter once more retired to his stronghold at Girishk. Here he renewed his connexion with Kamran, whom, notwithstanding his former desertion, he contrived to propitiate, and advancing upon Kyser, drove him from Kandahar into Beloochistan. Shah Soojah, hearing of these events, sent an expedition against them, and followed in person. After some reverses, he defeated Kamran, who fled, and Futteh Khan, ever fruitful in resources, managed to make his peace with, and join Shah Soojah.

In 1808, during some political commotions, Mahmood Shah, the first protegé of Futteh Khan, who had been deposed and imprisoned, but not blinded according to Affghan custom, by Shah Soojah, contrived, unfortunately for

his rival, to make his escape. During this year, the vizier of Shah Soojah, disgusted at his declining influence, raised a rebellion, and was joined by Prince Kyser, whom he proclaimed king of Kabul. Their force was met by Shah Soojah, and entirely defeated, and the Shah entered Peshawur in triumph, with the head of the vizier borne aloft on a spear behind him.

Hitherto Shah Soojah had successfully quelled the various attempts on his throne; but, alas! reverses were at hand. In 1809, Mahmood Shah formed a junction with his old friend, Futteh Khan, and asserted his sovereignty.

On the 3rd April, 1809, they jointly defeated Akram Khan, who had been sent against them by Shah Soojah, and took Kabul. Soojah assembled an army, but was defeated by Futteh Khan, and escaped to the mountains. He subsequently threw himself on the protection of Runjeet Sing, Maharajah of the Punjab, whence he made several attempts to recover his dominions, but without success. After a time, Runjeet Sing not only became weary of his unfortunate guest, but imprisoned and cruelly treated him, in order to extort from him some valuable jewels, es-

pecially one of large size, called the mountain of light. Shah Soojah at length effected his escape, with his harem, to the British dominions, where he remained a pensioner at Lodiana.

After his flight, Futteh Khan ruled, under the name and authority of Shah Mahmood. He took Herat by treachery from Haji Ferooz, and repulsed an attack made on that city by the Persians, who had demanded tribute, and the coining of money, in the name of the Shah of Persia.

In 1818, after an administration of eight years, Mahmood, having been excited to jealousy against him, most ungratefully seized and blinded, with circumstances of peculiar ferocity, the man who had twice placed him on the throne. Upon this the family of Futteh Khan, with the Baurikzyes, flew to arms to avenge him; and on his refusal to mediate between them and Mahmood, the partizans of that perfidious wretch flew upon him, blinded as he was, and literally cut him in pieces. Thus died this remarkable man, whose talents and gallantry gave a certain ascendency to whatever party he joined, and whose vices of perfidy and want of principle have at least this extenuation, that he pos-

sessed them in common with every one of his countrymen: they are indeed always found in countries similarly situated, where the want of stable government throws every man on his own resources, to hold his own, as he best can, either by force or fraud.

His death was the signal for the dismemberment of the Dooraunee empire. Dhost Mahomed, the brother of Futteh Khan, became king of Kabul, and had the reputation of a just and enlightened ruler. Kamran seized Herat. Kandahar, after passing through various hands, became subject to the Sirdars. The Ameers of Sinde became independent, and Runjeet Sing took advantage of the general confusion to make large encroachments on the disordered monarchy.

Matters continued thus, until the fears of the Indian government that Russian influence was gaining ground in Central Asia, were brought to their height, by the Persians having besieged Herat in 1837. Endeavours were then made to detach Dhost Mahomed from the interests of Persia and Russia. He declared himself willing to embrace a British alliance if the British would protect him from the encroachments of Runjeet Sing, who had seized Peshawur, but that otherwise he must

throw himself on the protection of Persia. In evil hour it was determined that our relations with Runjeet Sing did not permit of our interfering with him; that still less could we allow Dhost Mahomed to form an alliance with Persia; and that the only remaining course was to dethrone him, and to re-instate Shah Soojah, who had been twenty-eight years a fugitive, in order to secure, as it was fondly imagined, our influence throughout Central Asia.

Accordingly, in 1838 and 1839, Sir John Keane's force marched through the Dooraunee empire, meeting with little opposition but at Ghuznee; Dhost Mahomed surrendered to Sir W. H. M'Naughten; Shah Soojah returned; all appeared prosperous. "Shah's" troops were raised; Dooraunee orders were distributed; Sir John Keane was raised to the peerage; addresses and congratulations were presented on all sides. Alas! how little the political envoys, how little the world at large, dreamed of the mine over which they were standing! In the beginning of November, 1841, it exploded—and the assassination of the British envoy; the total destruction of a large British force, including H. M. 44th regiment, and several corps of native troops;

the seizure of our guns; the capture of officers and ladies;—a catastrophe, in short, almost unequalled in our annals, fearfully dispelled the vision of Affghanistan tranquillity, and British influence established throughout Central Asia. In the spring of the present year, our *protegé*, Shah Soojah ool Moolk, was murdered by a party of Baurikzyes, while proceeding to his camp at Bootkhak, a miserable end of a troublous course.

The manner in which we have been extricated from the ruins of our schemes of unjust aggression has been as merciful and unexpected as our punishment was sudden and appalling. God grant that His undeserved goodness may not be overlooked amidst our present triumphs, as it was totally forgotten amidst those of 1839; and may our rulers have grace to remember that it is "righteousness," not conquest, that "exalteth a nation;" and that "sin," the sin of insatiable ambition, as well as every other, is a "reproach to any people."

One consolatory thought arises on the consideration of this sketch of the Dooraunee empire, viz. that however unjustifiable our invasion of this country, we cannot be said to have disturbed and disorganised a peaceable, settled, or well-governed people. Distaste-

ful as our rule may have been to the chiefs, the cultivators of the soil have probably enjoyed more than ordinary tranquillity since we have been amongst them. Our treasures have been lavished throughout the land with unmeasured profusion. We have certainly suffered more than we have inflicted. And our withdrawal will probably be the signal for the commencement of such a scene of anarchy, that the well-disposed amongst them will sincerely wish us back.

What Christian can contemplate such a tissue of conspiracy, treachery, cruelty, and blood, as even this short outline discloses, in which the half has not been told, without ardently desiring, and fervently praying for, the diffusion throughout these lands, of that blessed Gospel which is not only the brightest manifestation of the glory of God, but the harbinger of peace and goodwill towards man. May God of his mercy hasten the time when these hardy and indomitable tribes shall be added to the kingdoms of our God and of His Christ, and He shall reign for ever and ever.

CHAPTER II.

LOWER SINDE.

On April 21st, 1841, I landed in Bombay, after a voyage of six months from England; and on May 10th received orders to proceed to Sinde, as chaplain to the field force then under the command of Major-General England, K.H. I was, to use the ordinary phrase, "a perfect griffin," and manners and customs by no means peculiar to Sinde, but common throughout India, were quite uncommon, and consequently highly interesting, to me. I shall make no apology for giving my first impressions of men and things, for the old Indians who may deign to read these pages will, I doubt not, recall (and perhaps with some amusing recollections) the time when they were "griffins" themselves; and those who have never been in India may

glean some information even from a *griff*. The voyage along the western coast was, as all sea voyages have ever been to me, full of misery and discomfort; the usual sources of wretchedness being augmented by the heat, the small size of the steamer, and the crowd of passengers. On the 16th (Sunday) we came in sight of the harbour of Kurachee, the sea-port of Sinde lying to the westward of the mouths of the Indus. All was hurry and bustle in making preparations to land, and no opportunity afforded for divine service, or any devotional exercise. The first appearance of Kurachee is most unattractive, nor does it greatly improve upon acquaintance. It is the gloomy portal of a desolate and uninteresting country; bleached, barren, and craggy rocks, salt marshes overgrown with mangrove, and deserts of sand as far as the eye can reach, without a particle of verdure, form its characteristics. The town is poor and dirty to the last degree, and a narrow belt of gardens, along the dry bed of a river, whence water is raised from wells for artificial irrigation, forms the only relief to the eye; all beside is barrenness. This parched region is a line of rocky hills of bold form, but no great elevation. The entrance to the harbour is

bounded by two bluff points of rock, on one of which, to the right, stands Manora Fort, a mud fortification, ruined by the fire of H. M. ship Wellesley, in 1838. The harbour is of considerable extent, but very shallow, and a great part of it dry at low water. The camp is about two miles in rear of the town. We landed at about four P. M., in a native boat, which approached the shore as near as the mud banks would allow; we were then obliged to bestride the brawny shoulders of stout Sindees, and so were carried to dry land. I was most kindly received by Major (now Colonel) Sandwith, then commanding the 8th regt., N. I.; and amidst the comforts of his hospitable home, soon lost the recollection of "the trembling billows of the main." This cantonment was my residence until Dec. 14, 1841, for it was occupied by a wing of H. M. 41st regiment, a considerable number of recruits of H. M. 13th and 40th regiments, with the depôt, and school of the latter, and a company of artillery, forming a large European congregation; and the season was unfavourable for proceeding to Kwettah, which was the head-quarters of the field force. Some extracts from my journal during this period, which may serve as specimens of

camp life, and clerical duty in the field in India, as well as to illustrate the peculiar scenery of Lower Sinde, will form the substance of the present chapter. The early morning was the time for exercise, and the country is, from its wide flat plains, well adapted for horse exercise, though with but little to interest or amuse the eye. It is a dreary scene; plains of sand, strewed with the whitening bones of camels and bullocks, varied occasionally by a few stunted bushes, and a species of cactus, which grows rather large. At this period the camels were to me an interesting feature in the landscape, from their novelty; and when walking on the parade-ground of an evening, a long dim line of their tall figures passed along the horizon about sunset, I know nothing which more forcibly reminded me of my distance from home. There were a great number of young officers at the station, whom the season prevented from joining their regiments, and Kurachee was the residence of many ladies whose husbands' duty required them to penetrate farther into the country, so that there was a larger society than is generally met with at an out station. Monday and Friday evenings were the gay times. The band of H. M. 41st

played on the parade-ground, and the beauty and fashion of Kurachee were seen assembling in groups; officers in uniform, showing off their horses and themselves; others on foot, making the agreeable to the ladies. It was really a pleasing scene, which seemed to make the parched desert smile. Much sociality and good feeling prevailed, and intercourse was carried on in an easy and domestic style. Here I met General Ventura, whose name will be familiar to all readers of the life and exploits of Runjeet Sing, who with his daughter and her governess had come from the Punjab, and were on their way to Bombay, to proceed overland to Europe. One great drawback to the comfort of Kurachee is the frequent prevalence of dust and sand storms, from which not even glass doors and windows are an adequate protection, much less the huts and tents in which we were living. These, however, only prevail during the heat of the day. From five P. M. till seven A. M., a more desirable climate to the sensation can scarcely be conceived; nor are these storms constant or very frequent. One, however, which we had on the 16th of June, was rather more violent and more serious in its consequences than usual. The previous day had

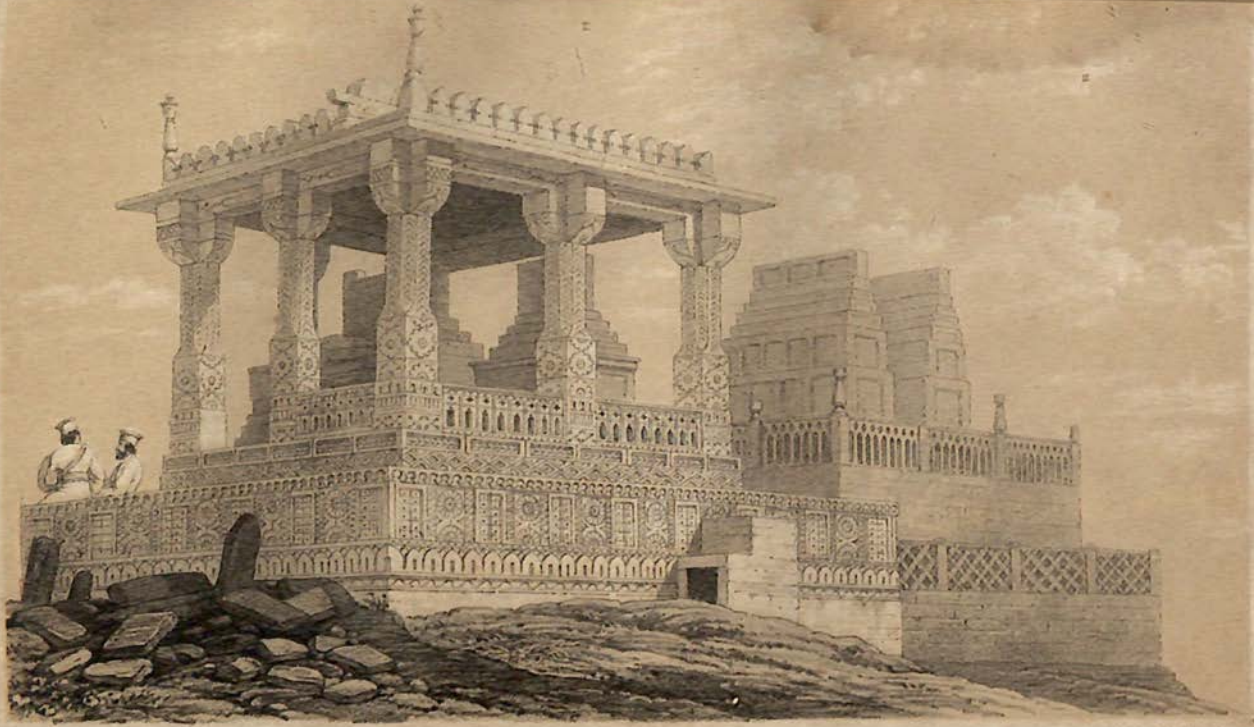
been excessively hot, and the atmosphere peculiarly murky. This continued till about twelve at noon on the day in question, when suddenly there came a blast of wind from the S. W., accompanied by such a deluge of rain, that the sand and dust which it raised were converted into flying mud, and all the tents in camp (with two exceptions) were levelled in an instant, burying the unlucky inmates, who crowded forth only to be pelted by the pitiless storm of mud. Intermingled chairs, couches, and even heavy boxes, were whirled away, and turned over and over like dry leaves. Many were destroyed, and some found afterwards, at a considerable distance from camp. The mess bungalow of the 8th regiment, N. I., was entirely destroyed, and the tables all broken by the falling roof; the strong poles of which the bungalow was built, were twisted and snapped as if in the grasp of some enormous giant. The hospital of H. M, 41st regiment, and that of the artillery, were unroofed, and a new bungalow, which I had just finished, had the verandah torn away. The blast continued only for a few seconds; if it had been prolonged, we should not have had a house standing on the continent.

About three miles from camp is some table

land overlooking the sea, to which some of the ladies had given the name of Clifton. Two or three small bungalows were built here, and it was a favourite resort to spend "a long day;" officers who were unwell also pitched their tents there, for the enjoyment of the sea breeze. To this place we frequently went out to spend a day or two, and it would have been highly amusing to our friends at home to witness the formidable preparations requisite for such an expedition. We were living in what is called "camp fashion," i. e., every man was supposed to have just the quantity of furniture requisite for himself, and no more; so that unless you sent everything to the friend's house to which you were going, you had no right whatever to expect to find it provided for you; consequently we had on these occasions to pack up and send beds, chairs, cups, plates, knives, forks, spoons, &c., &c.; each guest also bringing a servant or two, with forage for his horse or horses, and the whole body forming a large caravan. Here is a fine sandy beach, affording space for a long ride when the tide is out; above it the sand-stone rocks rise very boldly, and though sadly wanting verdure, of which there is not a blade or leaf, have very picturesque forms. From the table land on the summit of these

rocks is a most extensive view of the sea, and the rocks at the entrance of the harbour, which bear a distant resemblance to the Needles at the Isle of Wight, but differing in colour, and not so pointed. The surf, especially during the monsoon, dashes with a perpetual roar upon the beach, and the sea breeze produces, though at so short a distance, a totally different climate from that of the cantonment, the effect of which is exceedingly invigorating and refreshing. There was something highly entertaining in the wild, simple kind of life which we led in our excursions to this spot. The rudeness of the habitations, constructed of mud and native mats, the camp-like appearance of everything around, horses picketed in the open air, servants in Mussulman, Parsee, Hindoo, and Sindee costumes, black beards, and various coloured caps and turbans—formed a *tout ensemble* of a very picturesque kind, especially if heightened, as it often was, by one or two travellers upon camels joining the group.

Another point of attraction was a spot, about eight or nine miles distant, called the Mugger Tullao, or Alligator's Tank, the shrine of a Mahommedan saint of some celebrity. The account of a pic-nic party to this place on the



MEHMUDAN TOMBS NEAR THE KUTUB CULLAD MINARET

7th July may afford some amusement to my readers. The party consisted of Major Sandwith and Captain Steuart, 8th Regt. N. I., two young ensigns, just arrived, and myself. A tent, furniture, provision, &c., for five persons, were sent out on camels, at noon, with ten servants, and at about 4, P. M. we followed on horseback. Our route lay over a plain, intersected by the dry bed of a river, to a chain of rocky hills about five miles distant. As we approached the pass which led through this, the road became more narrow and difficult; we had to thread our way through masses of rock, and up peculiarly hard and flinty stones, worn to a polish by being often traversed. At length we reached the crown of the pass, which opened upon an extensive valley, with far more verdure than on the Kurachee side, and bounded by more distant hills of exceedingly bold form. In the bottom of the valley was the Mugger Tullao, thickly wooded with dates and other trees, standing as an oasis in the desert, with the white dome of the shrine rising from the midst of the grove. We first arrived at two tombs, elaborately carved in sand-stone, and very perfect. I was struck with the very great resemblance which they bore in shape to the monuments with heavy

stone canopies, of about the time of Elizabeth or James I.; that of Elizabeth in Westminster Abbey might serve for an example. The dome of one had fallen, and encumbered the interior with its ruins. The devices were principally scroll and diamond work; the carving, though not very bold, was elaborate in design, and neatly executed. Passing on, we entered the wood, which arched gracefully overhead, and presently one of our party, who was ahead, cried out, "There's a mugger!" I looked in the direction in which he pointed, and saw an alligator, about seven feet long, basking under a tree. I viewed it with interest, as it was the first I had seen alive, but at the same time with some degree of apprehension. My companion, however, to whom it was not a novelty, sprung from his horse, and threw a heavy stone at it, which sounded on its side as if it had struck a piece of timber; it gave a groan, and began to waddle sluggishly away towards the tank, showing no inclination whatever to resent the affront. We passed on, and found the tent pitched under a tamarind tree, one of the most magnificent trees I have ever seen. We joined the rest of our party near a hot spring, which issues from the rock on which the shrine of the saint is

Etched lith. from a drawing by the Rev.d I.N. Allen.

Roy.l Regt. Lith.rs to the Queen.

SHRINE MUGGER TULLAO SINDE.

built. The temperature was about ninety-seven degrees, and the water perfectly clear, with a sulphureous smell. There is another spring about half a mile distant, the temperature of which is one hundred and twenty degrees. We then went to the Alligator's Tank, and beheld about a hundred of these sluggish animals, from one to twelve feet long, lying basking on the banks, or in the shallow water, with the mud caked white on their backs by the heat of the sun, showing that they must have been in the same position for hours. There was one enormous beast, called by the natives Moor Sahib, who had taken up a small tank for himself, and seemed the only one who was really savage and disposed to be mischievous. Poor fellows! times are sadly changed with them. Formerly they lived in great dignity and sloth, the objects of respect and veneration to all around; but now, two or three times a week come a party of galloping "griffins," and thereupon they are poked, and pelted, and worried out of their lives, though I must confess they bear it with exemplary patience.

Before retiring to rest in the evening, we had prayers. It was an interesting occasion—christian worship in the very precincts of a

Mahommedan shrine; and I trust we prayed the more earnestly for the downfall of the false prophet, from the consideration that we were in one of his strongholds. I had a couch on the open side of the tent. It was a beautiful moonlight night, and I lay watching the beams as they shone on the top of the shrine, and tipped the plume-like heads of the date trees till I fell asleep, soon, however, to be awakened by one of my young friends, who whispered in my ear, "Do you know there is a mugger within ten yards of the tent, and (pointing to a bush at a very short distance) he is just behind *that;* I could not sleep, and nearly stepped on him while walking out in the moonlight."

I started up at once, and sure enough there he was, about seven feet long, with his head pointing in the direction of the tent, the whole side of which was open. I was puzzled what to do I did not like to lie down again while he was there, not knowing the habits of these creatures, and whether the sluggishness of the day might not be exchanged for activity during the night. However, at length we determined to leave him where he was, and wait the progress of events. We both lay down, and cast many an anxious glance towards the bush

behind which our enemy lay, my companion having his gun ready at a moment's notice, in case of a charge from the foe. But Morpheus would have his way, and soon "weighed our eyelids down, and steeped our senses in forgetfulness," in spite of the mugger. And at the morning's dawn we traced the zig-zag trail of the waddling beast in the direction of the tank, and decided that muggers were as great drones by night as by day.

The day was spent by the elders of the party in reading and sketching, and by the youngsters in shooting wild pigeons and chasing muggers. A long day of enjoyment it was. The deep shade of the trees preserved us from the scorching heat, and our pleasure was without a drawback. Before returning home I went to view the shrine. The ascent is by steps cut in the rock, and covered with chunam (cement). The tomb is something like those before described, only built up at the sides, instead of being supported, as they are, on columns. The shrine is under the dome; it is of open work carved in wood, like the screen-work, of later date and inferior taste, in some of our country churches at home. It is hung round with votive offerings of silk and velvet of the gayest colours, glittering with tinsel,

and made like the heart-shaped pincushions which our grandmothers used to wear at their sides. A little building outside the door of the tomb contained seven or eight kettle-drums of various sizes, with which, at the times of prayer, they make a most discordant clamour.

The view from this tomb was beautiful, and the quiet and coolness in the mingled twilight and moonlight most soothing. Numbers of men, women, and children, were paying their evening devotions at the shrine; they prostrated themselves at the threshold, touching it with their hands, and then applying their hands to their foreheads. Some of the more devout bowed down till their foreheads touched it. They then entered and sat on their heels, with their palms spread, like persons waiting to receive alms; and a moollah repeated a form of prayer, which the rest followed in a low murmuring voice. Nothing could be more humble than the attitude assumed. Some of the old men seemed exceedingly fervent, and their countenances expressed much seriousness of devotion; among the young folks there was much of the same levity which we too frequently see among children in our own churches; while jabbering over the prayers,

they frequently stole a glance at us with their large dark eyes, and gave us a smile. They are, for the most part, beautiful children, both boys and girls, and exceedingly fair; the men have noble features, and would be very fine looking, but for their sordid filthiness of habit.

Two fakeers sat outside the shrine to receive the contributions of "the faithful," and a ridiculous altercation took place between one of them and a sturdy dame, either as to the amount of her donation, or because she had given nothing at all. She seemed, like some of our *liberals* at home, decidedly for a *cheap* religion. The scene which we had witnessed furnished matter for our own evening prayers, that these poor people might be taught the "more excellent way."

Besides these objects of interest, there were many calls of duty, and serious occupations of a christian and ministerial character. I went up to Kurachee with rather a desponding feeling as to the impracticability of carrying on clerical duties in the field; but in this idea I found myself agreeably disappointed. We had two regular services on Sundays: in the morning at the mess-room of H. M. 41st regiment, and in the evening in a large bun-

galow of Major Sandwith's. The congregations were very attentive, and the increase of their number cheering. There was also a very pleasing school of about fifty children, connected with the depôt of H. M. 40th regiment; this comprised only the younger children and girls, the elder boys being with the regiment at Kwettah. I found much useful occupation in visiting and superintending this school during the week, and added to it a Sunday-school, in which I found very kind assistance from some of the ladies and officers at the station.

The hospitals presented a field of labour less pleasing to flesh and blood, for a field hospital is a crowded uncomfortable place, with little opportunity for private communication with the patients, who lie so closely together that every word must necessarily be overheard by those on the right and left; but not less important than the schools, for there were many afflicted and distressed in mind and body, and needing the balm of consolation; nor less salutary to one's own mind, for there was much, particularly in the numbers of the young and strong, cut down, dried up, and withered, by the rapid march of tropical disease, which tended to impress upon the heart a

solemn sense of the uncertainty of life, and the necessity for redeeming the time. My sympathies also were powerfully called forth by the circumstances of loneliness and desertion of those who, as fellow-countrymen and fellow-christians, had every claim upon my kindness and aid. I recollect one instance in particular, which, if these notes should fall into the hands of young persons of a restless and discontented disposition at home, longing to break from the control of a parent or a master, may serve to show the hollowness of those glowing pictures of eastern enjoyment with which designing persons are apt to dazzle the youthful mind.

While conversing with a sick man, I observed, in a farther bed, a young lad of about nineteen, whose remarkably handsome countenance appeared to indicate some deeper feeling than mere pain of body: his hands were clasped, and his lips moving. I went up to him, and said, "You seem to be very ill ——"

"I am indeed, sir," he replied, turning his dark eyes upon me; "I am sick both in body and soul."

"What is it that distresses your mind?" I asked, taking my seat on the side of his bed.

"Oh, sir," he said, in a low tone, "I am such a sinner! and I feel," striking his heart, "I feel as if I could not repent as I wish, and I cannot pray properly, *right from the heart.*"

He wept as he spoke. I told him of the grace which softens the heart, and enables us both to repent and to pray. I told him of the blessed Saviour who died for sinners, who declares, "Him that cometh unto me I will in no wise cast out." He confessed to me that he had given way to habits of drinking and swearing, &c., but said that he had been well brought up, and taught to read and write.

"I was a very good boy," he said, "till my father died. I was the eldest of the family; my mother could not control me, and I went into all evil. The worst company was the best for me; and I ran away and left my mother. My poor mother!" he repeated, and clasped his hands, while tears filled his eyes.

I was much affected, and could have wept with him. He seemed to have derived considerable benefit from the hospital service, and regretted much that his illness prevented his reading.

"I like to hear you, sir," he said; "and how kind it is to come and try to instruct us. There

is a God in heaven will reward you for it, for we never can."

I told him that we must all take our place, as unprofitable servants, as suppliants for mercy, and not claimants for reward. On another occasion, he told me he felt easier in mind since he had unburthened his mental load to me. I reminded him of David's resolution and its effects. "I said, I will confess my sin *unto the Lord*, and so thou forgavest the iniquity of my sin." I found he was a native of Herefordshire, and his father had been bailiff to a gentleman there, and that the persuasions of evil companions had induced him to enlist. He had been in India about one year. Poor fellow! contrasting the comforts and cleanliness of a Herefordshire grange with all the miseries of a bad hospital in temporary barracks, I could not but think, "How soon and how bitterly have you tasted the wages of sin even in this world!" His unkindness to his mother seemed to weigh deeply on his mind. He told me he had received two letters from her some months before.

"It vexes me," he said, "more about her than myself, now I come to think of it."

"Poor woman!" I said within myself,

" what a blessing that you do not just now know the state he is in, for with the impossibility of getting to your boy, it would be almost more than human nature could support."

" O, sir," he exclaimed, after a pause, " if I could once get *home*, I would have done with soldiering !"

So, many, many beside him have said, for this is but one among multitudes of such cases, which come under the eye of a military chaplain: but the rash step, as usual, is far more easily taken than retraced.

In such varied occupations passed my time at Kurachee, until, on the 9th of December, 1841, I received instructions from the Bishop of Bombay to proceed, by the first good opportunity, to Kandahar, and join H. M. 40th regiment, which had proceeded thither from Kwettah some months before.

On Sunday, the 12th, I took leave of my congregation, in a farewell sermon, with deep feelings of regret, for I had received much kindness from them, and on the Monday, addressed myself to the task of making preparations for my long and uncertain expedition.

On Tuesday, the 14th, at gun-fire, Captain Thomas, of the 8th regiment, N. I., who

was going the same route, as far as Shikarpore, and myself, mounted our horses, and rode to Jemedar ki Lande, fourteen miles. Here we found a hut, intended to serve as a traveller's bungalow, at which our servants and luggage, which had been previously despatched, had arrived. It was a beautiful and cool morning, and the ride more diversified than I had expected in this desert. The first part was rocky; we came then to winding roads, through tall tamarisk jungle, giving a distant resemblance to some of the lane scenery at home; then we passed to a wide plain, with the first grassy turf I had seen for many a day. This reminded me exceedingly of some of the healthy commons in Berkshire, though far more barren; we saw abundance of black and grey partridge in various parts of the road. We arrived in good appetite for breakfast, which we found our servants had prepared. This traveller's bungalow is built of mud, with two rooms, one for living and one for cooking, the former has one large opening at the end, admitting abundance of light; doors there are none, which is a guarantee that the surrounding country is not infested by any dangerous beasts of prey. We dined at three P.M., and sent on our kit, which was on its way by half-

past four P.M., two camels remaining, with two servants, to bring our beds, &c. in the morning. We took a walk in the evening to a considerable number of Mussulman tombs, on the ridge of a hill, about one mile distant. Their characteristics were much the same as those I had sketched at the Mugger Tallao, but they had this peculiarity, that the sex and rank of the party were indicated by a turban carved at the end of each tomb, and differing in shape according to the quality and sex of the deceased. We retired to rest, after prayers, in this mud hovel, and slept soundly, without door, or guard, or defence of any kind, either from man or beast. An hyena was heard munching and cracking bones outside, and the jackals kept up a dismal yelling. Use reconciles one to anything and everything, but what a situation would this appear to our friends at home!

15th. Mounted at sunrise, and rode sixteen miles to Tanda, through a country differing considerably in appearance from that of the previous march. The ground was much more broken, and we crossed some deep ravines, and the dry beds of three tolerably broad rivers. On this march we fell in with a wing of the 23d regiment, N. I., commanded by Cap-

tain Scott, and congratulated them on *coming down*, while they condoled with us on *going up*. Arrived at a small Mahommedan mosque, or musjid, now appropriated as a traveller's bungalow, and found breakfast ready. It was a singular circumstance that a clergyman and a christian officer should be found offering morning prayers in a Mahommedan temple! The interior of this musjid was very prettily coloured, in a manner resembling English stencilling.

16th. Mounted at sunrise; the kit had been previously sent to Garra (twelve miles). During these rides, and on this morning in particular, we saw several curious appearances of mirage. The effect of this mist made Garra appear like a splendid fortress, with a keep and flag-staff, looking much like Windsor Castle. Arrived, we found its splendours vanished, and it dwindled into a miserable collection of mud hovels on a creek of the sea. The travellers' bungalow was worse than the poorest cart-shed in England, and withal exceedingly dirty. Here we breakfasted, and sent on the kit to Gougah, retaining only enough for tiffin. At three P. M., after tiffin, mounted again, and rode to Gougah, (twelve miles,) where we arrived at the same time with the kit. The

road was of a character differing still from those preceding. It was frequently traversed by deep channels, through which, at certain periods of the year, flow the inundations of the Indus. These channels were crossed by bridges, very rude in construction, and often dangerous. The entrance to Gougah was pretty compared with what we had previously seen. It exhibited a large tope of trees, some green turf, and a picturesque wooden bridge, over a very deep channel from the Indus. We found our dinner laid in a mud musjid, very inferior to that at our former halting ground.

17th. We proceeded to the tombs of the Kings of Tattah, a long and weary march. We had travelled about sixty-one miles in four days. This will seem miserable work to people at home, who mount a rail-road carriage, and fly two hundred miles in ten hours; but when it is considered that we carry, not only all our supplies, but our habitations, kitchens, &c., on beasts that only travel two and a half miles an hour, it will not appear so extraordinary. Throughout this whole distance we only saw three villages, and the country appeared very thinly populated.

18th. We took up our abode among the

Drawn from a Drawing by the Revd. J. H. Allen.

Day & Haghe Lithrs to the Queen.

ONE OF THE PRINCIPAL TOMBS OF THE KINGS OF TATTAH

tombs, in the musjid, a vaulted room about eighteen yards long, and four and a half yards wide, the walls about four feet thick, with a succession of arched doors opening on one side, and one door on the opposite, opening into a small and neatly walled enclosure, which had once probably been a garden. From the hill, on which this tomb stood, we commanded a view of Tattah, at the distance of about three miles. Finding that no steamer was expected to arrive for some days, we determined to remain here, in preference to taking up our abode in the dirty native town.

20th. A duck-shooting expedition. We set out, attended by eight or ten coolies, to a tank about five miles off. In our way thither we passed the deserted camp near Tattah, where a native corps had been almost destroyed by malaria, about two years before, so that they were eventually obliged to abandon the spot. Several officers' houses, which must have cost some thousands of rupees, were rapidly falling to decay, and had become a shelter for jackals, foxes, &c. Arrived at the tank, we found that our expedition was totally in vain, as far as sport was concerned, for the tank was so large, that though there were hundreds of ducks, they were able to set us at

defiance, by remaining in the deep water out of gun-shot, and we had no punt or boat to follow them. We brought back only one, and a few snipes, but I was amply repaid by the examination of an immense camp, said to be the work of Alexander the Great. It is a prodigious mound, to obtain earth for which, the excavation was probably made which formed the large tank, on one side of which the camp is situated. The masses of brick-work still remaining, are, at a distance, like large natural rocks. The labour of such a work must have been excessive, even when shared by so large a host as that of Alexander, if it be, indeed, his. This neighbourhood has many objects of interest, and not the least are the tombs, among which we were living. I despair of conveying any correct idea of them by description, and to draw them would be the labour of months. They are called the tombs of the *Kings* of Tattah; and assuredly must have been built by persons of high rank and wealth, and commanding large resources. They cover the ridge of a hill, about three miles from the city, for several miles in length. There is an almost infinite variety of domes, arches, and porticos; some are very large, and form magnificent objects, and the inte-

riors, containing the tombs, are vaulted domes of great size, solemnity, and beauty. One of the largest (of which I took a sketch) is of stone, every single stone being beautifully carved in relief. There are no figures of men or animals, but every combination of scroll, lozenge, square, and circle, flowered and ornamented richly, and passages from the Koran, enclosed in borders of zig-zag and scroll-work. The dome of this tomb is surrounded by a colonnade of two stories, a platform and a gallery above; the whole about seventy-five feet square, and enclosed in a court-yard about a hundred and forty feet square, with four entrance-gates. The arches are pointed, but the general effect is rather that of a building in the Palladian style. The walls, enclosing the court-yard, and the gates, are all of the same exquisite carving and finish. Other tombs are built of brick, coloured and glazed, giving them the rich appearance of tessellated or enamelled work; passages of the Koran, in large white Persian characters, occupy pannels of a dark blue ground, and every variety of border pattern, worked in the same kind of bricks, which are something like Dutch tiles, only of far superior workmanship and beauty of colours. All are now desolate,

shaken, probably, by the shock of earthquakes, and hastening to decay; many, indeed, already in ruins. It is literally a city of the dead. Except a strolling fakeer, who may take up his habitation for a time in one or other of these tombs, or travellers like ourselves, they are untrodden by human feet. Here and there a prowling jackall, or pariar dog, may be seen, and thousands of pigeons, doves, paroquets, bats, and crows, take up their habitation in their porticos and niches, while porcupines and foxes burrow in their foundations, the whole furnishing a melancholy instance of the transitory nature of earthly splendour, and the short-lived glory of man, even in his highest estate.

CHAPTER III.

THE INDUS.

Christmas Eve, 1841.—We had now been living a week among the tombs, and had determined to remove into Tattah, there to await the arrival of the Indus steamers, examining, in the mean time, whatever might be worthy of observation in the town and immediate neighbourhood, when intelligence arrived, in the course of the morning, which entirely altered our plans. Lieutenant Robertson, 25th N. I. had been escorting a lady from Kurachee to Tattah, and on his way back, turned aside to call upon us. From him we learned the astounding intelligence of the outbreak at Kabul, and the critical state of affairs in Affghanistan. He told us that several additional corps were ordered from Bombay, some of which had arrived at Ku-

rachee before he left, and with H. M. 41st regiment might be expected at Tattah immediately. This determined us to make as short a stay as possible in the town, and to hasten at once to the Bunder, about six miles off, in order to be in a position to avail ourselves of the first chance of conveyance. The camels and servants were accordingly sent off. We bade adieu to our sepulchral dwelling, and rode after them to Tattah, a miserable collection of mud hovels, with one or two more considerable buildings and large mosques, the remains of former splendour. The unhealthiness of the spot was fully testified by the emaciated appearance of the inhabitants; more wretched looking people I do not remember to have ever beheld. We took up our abode at the travellers' bungalow, which merits some notice.

It was formerly a factory. I could not ascertain its date, but it was evidently of some antiquity, and must have been built at considerable expense. It surrounds four sides of a quadrangle, has upper rooms of considerable elevation, with a flat roof of cement, to which there are flights of steps. The upper story, within the quadrangle, is surrounded by a gallery, much like some of the older inns in

London. It is built in a bastard Gothic style of architecture, which strongly reminded me of the oak screen work in some of the manor-houses and colleges of James the First's and Charles the First's time. It is in a very ruinous condition, but the government have spent some money in putting a part of it in repair, for the accommodation of travellers.

We spent a rather melancholy Christmas Eve, contrasting our loneliness in the old ruined factory, with the cheerful doings of days by-gone, and unable to rise immediately above the stunning effect of Mr. Robertson's news in the morning. I found (as in such cases I have always done) great relief from commending the absent friends whom the season recalled to mind, the affairs of the country, and my own, to the protection of the God of Providence, who cares alike for states and individuals.

On the following morning (Christmas Day) we rode to the Bunder, six miles. The first view of the far-famed and classic Indus was not very imposing, for the effect of its width was destroyed by a large sand-bank in the middle. Where our tent was afterwards pitched, on its bank, it appeared to me about the width of the Thames at Greenwich. At

this season of the year, the stream is much lower than at others, and although widening greatly at some of its turns, I should not estimate its average width at this time, between Tattah and Sukkur, to be greater than that of the Thames at Blackwall, even if it be quite so wide. The shore opposite the Bunder very much resembled the low swampy shore of the Thames on the Kent side, opposite the East India Docks, where pirates on the high seas used to be hanged in chains; but it wanted the bold back-ground of the Kent and Surrey hills, and presented a dead sandy flat, as far as the eye could reach. The stream here was as smooth as a mill-pond, with here and there a slight eddying ripple.

A detachment of H. M. 40th regiment was waiting for conveyance, which assembled, on my arrival, for divine service, and I gave them a few words of exhortation on the christian method of spending Christmas Day. The service was necessarily brief, for the sun was scorching hot, and we were in the open air. This was the first time I had ever officiated in the open air on shore. For many months after, I had no other canopy but the sky.

In the course of the morning the Satellite

steamer arrived. In the evening we all dined together, seven in number, and drank the health of friends at home with deep feeling, if not with much mirth. The captain of the steamer was a man of considerable natural talent, and various and heterogeneous information, picked up here and there, and the conversation took a metaphysical turn, which I had little expected.

On the following day (Sunday) we had a very pleasing service on board the Satellite steamer. The captain had rigged a very neat church under the awning, and provided seats sufficient for his own crew and the detachment of H. M. 48th regiment, which was marched on board. I preached from Is. ii. 11, to a very attentive congregation. The captain appeared highly gratified, and said it was the first time he had had an opportunity of attending divine service for two years. Alas! how can we wonder that baptized Christians, under such circumstances, almost relapse into absolute heathenism, or a practical heathenism, which is even worse still. The wonder is that they retain such a sense of religion as we find amongst them. In the evening I had a service in my tent, at which ten non-commissioned officers and privates attended. While

we stayed at the Bunder, the shrieks and yells of the jackals, during the night, were more awful and doleful than I ever heard before. Judging from the noise, there must have been immense herds of them. The cry is like the shriek of a human being in intense agony.

Tuesday, 28th, was employed in packing and embarking. A large flat, which had been constructed to hold a pinnace, taken up the Indus as a present to Runjeet Sing, was now in tow of the steamer, and in these two vessels were distributed between four hundred and five hundred European and native troops. There were six officers, including myself, who had to divide a small cuddy and two *very* small stern cabins amongst us. The officer commanding had one of these stern cabins; Captain Thomas and I obtained the other between us, in which, with some contrivance, we managed to stow our beds. I passed a feverish and uncomfortable night, through the intense closeness, and perpetual noises on deck, which in these iron vessels are, I think, far more painfully heard below than in those of timber, which is needless.

29th. Going on deck in the morning, found we were proceeding up the Indus, at the rate of about four knots. The current

was very strong, and sand-banks frequent, so that before ten A.M. we had grounded twice. There is no guarding against these banks, for so loose is the soil of the country, and so largely is the stream impregnated with it, that the slightest impediment, the stump of a tree for instance, lodging, will cause a bank in a few hours. The channel, in many parts, is, perhaps, not more than three or four feet deep at this season, and though every vessel that plies on it is flat-bottomed, even that does not prevent their perpetually grounding. The west bank presented a perfectly flat and uninteresting field of sand, or more properly mud. The east bank was beautifully diversified with wood and thick jungle, and the bank itself looked much like a park wall of chalky stone. It was quite perpendicular, and formed by strata of earth, resembling courses of masonry. As the sun declined, we came to anchor near the bank, and both Europeans and natives went on shore, where the latter immediately kindled fires for cooking. As I walked the deck of the steamer, the effect of these numerous little fires, with the various groups standing or crouching around them, and the moon rising large and broad in the back-ground,

and throwing a long ripple over the water, was wild and beautiful in the extreme.

In the morning, a mount at some distance, on the north bank of the river, was pointed out as a reputed camp of Alexander the Great —it much resembled the one I had seen at Tattah. The Shikarghurs, or hunting chases of the Ameers of Hydrabad, were very beautiful during the whole of this day's course. Ornamental as they are, it is a melancholy reflection that the finest soil in the country should be rendered useless for the amusement of these despots, and reminds one of the depopulating acts of some of our early Norman kings for the same purpose. We hoped to have had a ramble in these wilds, but the night turned out so tempestuous, cold, and wet, that no one could go on shore.

About noon, on the following day, we were opposite the Residency at Hydrabad, on the south bank of the river. We saw nothing of the town, which is at some distance from the river. The Residency is a convenient house, with a spacious drawing-room, rather large than well-proportioned. The grounds around it are pretty, and appeared to greater advantage from the barren hills and plains, to which

my eye had so long been accustomed at Kurachee. A part of the compound was fenced off, and had some very beautiful specimens of deer and antelopes. We found the political agents there, Captains Leckie and Christall, entertaining a party, consisting of two Bengal officers and a lady, on their way to Bombay. We spent a very pleasant evening, and were much delighted with the lady's superior performance on the guitar.

At half-past eleven, P.M, we took leave of our hospitable entertainers, and set off to return to the steamer, which had gone to a wood station, about a mile up on the opposite side of the river; and here commenced a chapter of petty accidents and miseries.

I have before mentioned the multitudes of sand-banks, and the difficulty of finding the channel; and though it was a clear moonlight night, and the same crew had twice before made the trip during the day, our Tyndal (cockswain) very soon lost his track, and we found ourselves among the sand-banks and shallows. My companion soon lost all patience, and the extinguishing of his cheroot, without the possibility of procuring a light, completed his disgust, and he soundly rated the unfortunate Tyndal, who, of course, be-

came more stupid and bewildered. For hours we were poking about, grounding every five minutes, and sending the crew to wade on all sides, to find sufficient water. The vociferations of my impatient companion, and the half crying expostulations of the poor natives, and the vacant stupidity of the Tyndal, were ludicrous enough, and for about three hours I kept up heart, and laughed merrily at the absurdity of ushering in the new year in such a situation. At the end of that time, finding that we were still opposite Hydrabad, I began to despair of getting to the steamer at all. The boat, meantime, had become miserably wet from the crew perpetually getting in and out, a heavy dew had soaked even through my cloak, my feet were cold and damp, and I shrunk down into a state of silent wretchedness and abandonment to my fate. Not so the gallant captain; he manfully mounted the back of a stout Sindee, and made several excursions to see if it were possible, by wading, to reach the west bank, proposing that, if this could be effected, we should walk to the steamer, and leave the boat and crew to shift for themselves. Again and again he returned disappointed, but with undiminished energy. At length we found the channel, the men

settled to their oars, and we thought we were all right, but after they had been pulling for some time, I distinctly perceived, from watching the trees on the bank, that we were gradually going backward. I suppose, poor creatures, they were benumbed and exhausted; however, this was no time for pity. I called the attention of my companion to the circumstance, and we both joined, by alternate threats and promises, in stimulating these unfortunates to greater exertion. At length, after five hours and a half spent in this pleasant predicament, we managed to reach the steamer just as they were getting up the steam for the morning's start. Wet, jaded, and comfortless, we turned into bed. Providentially no cold, fever, or evil results ensued, but it will be long ere I forget the ushering in of A. D. 1842.

On Sunday (January 2) it was proposed to have two services, but unfortunately at ten o'clock the boat ran on a sandbank, and, in spite of every effort, remained there till sunset, and rendered divine service impossible. The whole day was spent in sad confusion, noise, and labour, in abortive attempts to get her off. I felt thankful that I had a place of retirement even amidst all this bustle, and

found comfort in prayer to my heavenly Father, for myself, my fellow-passengers, and my dear friends who were far away.

On the evening of Jan. 3, we anchored under a high bank, and I went on shore with a party, and plunged into one of the Shikarghurs. It was a thick tamarisk jungle, in which I was astonished at the frequent tracks of the wild hog, and the pieces of ground turned over and rooted up by these animals; there must have been hundreds about, but we saw none. We wandered to some distance, and returning along the bank of the river, a very lively scene was presented, by the embarking of some camels to cross the river. There was a steep inclined plane dug through the bank to the edge of the water; the camel was brought to the top of this, and a couple of strong lines fixed to the cartilage of the nose, by which he is led and guided, like some wiser people; the ends of these cords were given to two men, who dragged with all their might, while the rest belaboured the haunches and flanks of the beast with long sticks, bestowing a storm of blows till they compelled it, roaring and holding back, to the water's edge. Here a struggle ensued to get one of the fore-legs over the side of the boat, in which sometimes

the men, and sometimes the camel, were hustled into the water. This being effected, and a line tied to it, the same " pressure from without" was applied with the sticks, till the bewildered animal, kicking, floundering, and plunging, contrived to get into the boat, where it was made to kneel down, and secured; and another underwent the same discipline, till the boat was filled. The frantic gestures and animated screams of the Sindees, with their picturesque drapery waving in the setting sun, whose slanting beams overspread the broad tranquil river, produced a striking effect, though with some mixture of the ludicrous.

On the next day we came in sight of the Lukkee mountains, forming a towering background to the landscape. The commander of the steamer pointed out some changes in the channel of the river since he had first navigated it, only three years since, which were perfectly astonishing.

Wednesday, (5th,) getting nearer to the mountains, the forms of which developed themselves with great boldness, their precipices, broken peaks, deep ravines, huge masses of rock piled together, and overhanging as if the slightest shock would tumble them on our heads, and without a blade of grass or any kind

of verdure, except here and there a solitary tamarisk bush waving from a cleft in the crag. We saw the remains of the road over which the army of the Indus, under Sir John (now Lord) Keane, marched in 1839. The river has so altered its position since that period, that the whole of the plain below those hills on which the army then encamped, is now carried away, and the stream washes the very base of the mountains. This day we witnessed a practice which is, I believe, peculiar to this river. Several men were floating down the stream on large mutkahs (earthen jars of spherical form, with small mouths.) They place the pit of the stomach upon the mouth of the jar, and float, lying upon it, precisely in the attitude of a frog, occasionally paddling with the feet and hands. In the fishing season, I am informed, they may be seen by hundreds, catching the fish with a triangular net, and popping them into the jar, slightly raising the body for the purpose; most of these men towed another mutkah by a string behind them. Though they seemed perfectly at their ease, I believe some ridiculous accidents have happened, and dangers been incurred, by Europeans endeavouring to imitate them. The day was cloudy and cold, and as

the evening closed in, immense flocks of ducks and geese flew across the river, in the direction of the mountains. The country appears to abound in wild fowl.

Going on deck on the next morning, (6th,) I was delighted with the beauty of the highest group of the mountains, of uncommonly bold outline, lying in deep purple shadow, with a lively green foreground of young tamarisk bushes, on the bank of the river. We appeared to have made but little progress since yesterday noon; indeed, the windings of the river are so capricious and extraordinary, that after steaming for several miles, you find yourself in the same relative position with the objects in the landscape, and except that a narrow tongue of land separates you from them, almost as near as you were before. About ten o'clock, A. M., we anchored at a wood station near Sehwun, where is a very remarkable fort, which I suppose has as fair claims to be referred to Alexander the Great as any of the various stations concerning which conjecture has been hazarded. The fort and town stand on the river Arral, a tributary stream to the Indus. I got a point for a sketch. In the extreme background were a part of the Lukkee mountains, the centre was

filled up by Alexander's fort and the town; the right and left bounded by tamarisk trees; the front was a beautiful bend of the Arral, enlivened by groups of Sepoys, performing ablutions, and washing linen in the stream, or preparing for cooking on the bank. I regretted exceedingly that I had not more time; for while I was occupied with the sketch, some of our party went to the town, climbed the fort, and examined some of the mosques; an expedition in which I would willingly have joined. Having finished my sketch I followed them, and came near the town, but met them before I had crossed the ferry. It presented, from this distance, a view of considerable Oriental beauty. The bed of the river, left in a great manner dry by the narrowing of the stream, which lay as smooth as a mirror, was covered with native groups, women in gay colours, men in waving drapery of dark blue; and the sound of their chanted songs, modulated to a pleasing tone, floated across the water. The opposite bank rose gradually, dotted with some fine overhanging trees, and about half-way up was a mosque, of much apparent architectural beauty, with three domes. Houses of every variety of form and material peeped from among tamarisk trees. The immense

masses of the fort, rugged and crumbling, frowned on the right, with the quiet stream winding round its base; while the range of the Lukkee hills towered high on the left. I have seldom looked on a scene of more tranquil beauty; all its unpleasing features (for a native town is never without them) were concealed by the distance. The fort of Alexander was described to me as composed of the same immense masses of brickwork as the one I had seen near Tattah, but with more perfect architectural remains, arches, bastions, &c. I was much annoyed at being compelled to hurry back to the boat without examining it, for after all, we were much longer at the station than the hour stated, and might have had ample time for this purpose; and the indescribable babel of tongues, and clumping of billets of wood, formed a vexatious contrast to the tranquillity of the scene I had left.

Poor Davis, a recruit of H. M. 40th, died during the night; he had been very sick of bilious fever from the time we left Tattah, and grew gradually weaker and weaker. He had the character of a quiet inoffensive lad, but appeared exceedingly ignorant upon religious subjects, as indeed they commonly are. The

condition of the European soldiery in this country is very painful to a Christian mind. A profane and nauseous habit seems to prevail among them, of interlarding their ordinary conversation with such blasphemous and filthy expletives as renders it most revolting to be brought into close contact with them, as one must be on the deck of a small steamer. The use of such expressions is not called forth by excitement or passion, but appears to be the ordinary habit; and its effect on the minds, especially of young lads coming from home, must be demoralising and brutalising in the extreme.

About ten, A. M., on the 7th January, we arrived at a wood station on the banks of the river, where we buried poor Davis, under a large tamarisk tree. As the solemn words of the burial service terminated, and the three volleys of musketry pealed over his lonely grave, "Poor fellow," I thought, "his ashes will not probably rest even here," for such are the freaks of this extraordinary stream, that it is not unlikely that in a few months the bank, the tree, and the village near it, will be washed into the whelming flood. Large masses of the bank were falling with a heavy crashing sound, during the whole of our progress to-

day. At night we had much difficulty in getting to our anchorage, as the force of the eddying current, in spite of the helm, repeatedly carried the steamer's head round. Towards evening a Sepoy fell from the gunwale of the Flat, but providentially seized a line which was floating, and was rescued. Such is the force of the current, and the strength of the whirlpools, that few who fall into the deep channel ever escape. Awaking during the night, my mind roamed over the past, the present, and the future. The dear friends I had left at home, the singularity of my present situation, the future scenes of peril which I might probably witness. I called to mind the vow of Jacob, (Gen. xxviii. 20, 21,) "If God will be with me, and keep me in this way in which I go, and will give me bread to eat, and raiment to put on, until I come again to my Father's house in peace, then shall the Lord be my God." I prayed that such might be my determination also, and thinking sadly of the demoralised state of these poor soldiers, I could not but feel thankful that it was my privilege to proclaim to them the Lamb of God who taketh away the sins of the world.

On Sunday, the 9th, we had divine service

on deck at eleven o'clock. The noise of the paddle-wheels so deadened the sound of my voice, that I found it exceedingly difficult to make myself heard.

On Tuesday, the 11th, soon after breakfast, we had the first distinct glimpses of the minaret at Sukkur, as the river wound its devious course. We hailed it with unfeigned delight, for we were heartily tired of the muddle and confinement of the steamer. By degrees the date and cocoa-nut trees increased in number and in height, and the banks became very pretty. The houses built by the British residents have a very imposing appearance from the river, and the old fort at Bukkur, especially from a distance, forms a good object in the middle of the stream. About four P. M. we came to, a little below Bukkur. Among the crowd on shore I soon recognised my old friend, Captain Stuart, 8th regiment, N. I., who had preceded me with the regiment from Kurachee, who received me with his wonted kindness and hospitality. Captain Thomas and I were soon domiciled in his house, where we found the ladies in good health, and highly delighted with the climate of Sukkur, which at this season was certainly very bracing and invigorating. Thus ended my fourteen days

voyage up the Indus. I had now to meditate a long farewell to navigable rivers, and to prepare for more laborious, and perhaps more perilous adventures by land.

CHAPTER IV.

UPPER SINDE.

My stay in Sukkur was protracted from Jan. 11, to Feb. 2, while waiting for the arrival of the head quarters of H. M. 41st regiment from Kurachee, under the escort of which I was to proceed through Upper Sinde, the detachment of H. M. 40th, with which I came up the Indus, being detained to garrison the fort at Bukkur. I stayed about half the time with Captain and Mrs. Stuart, and half with Captain and Mrs. Maclean, and have seldom passed three weeks more agreeably. The weather was delightful, allowing one to ride or walk during the whole day without the slightest inconvenience from the heat; while the mornings and evenings were cold enough to enable us to enjoy those fire-side pleasures to which, when I embarked for India, I

thought I had bid a long adieu, till I should revisit my native land. It is true the station does not admit of any great variety of rides or walks, but the broad tranquil stream is always a pleasing object, and the many Kurachee friends and acquaintances who had preceded me, and whom I was constantly meeting, gave interest to walks otherwise uninteresting enough. I was also much occupied in improving the arrangement of my kit, strengthening the boxes, &c., against accidents on the road, and in the purchase of camels, concerning the points of excellence in which, though I tried to look wondrous wise, I possessed as much knowledge as I should about those of Behemoth; nevertheless I was fortunate enough to procure four excellent camels, which were the universal admiration of beholders; determining to have these four of my own, in case of difficulty in hiring, which might be sufficient for the carriage of things absolutely indispensable.

The river here is exceedingly beautiful, and to it Sukkur is indebted for its pleasing features in more ways than one. Not only is it a beautiful object in itself, but to it is attributable the verdure of the banks, with their overhanging trees; for the moment you turn

your back upon the river, and look towards the west, the landscape becomes as desolate as in every other part of Sinde. Half a mile from the banks of the river, there is not a blade of grass, nor a tree, nor shrub, except a few scanty tamarisk bushes. The ground undulates exceedingly, presenting a number of projecting rocks of horizontal strata, sometimes almost as regular as steps, rising out of a plain of fine dust, which, when raised by the wind, forms one of the greatest nuisances of the place; worse, I think, than the dust at Kurachee, which is bad enough. On these singular projecting rocks, the British residents have erected houses; some of them are tombs, enlarged and surrounded by verandahs. These are all built of sun-dried bricks, and are flat-roofed, except where the centre is formed by the dome of a tomb; and the wide verandahs, supported upon ranges of square columns, have a certain architectural air, which adds much to the appearance of the place. There are now almost as many houses as there can be, for each of these projecting rocks which is accessible, is crowned with a house; and to build in the dust is impossible. Among the best buildings, and in the prettiest though not the coolest situations, are the Parsee mer-

chants' shops, and the houses of the conductors, a class of men appointed from among the non-commissioned officers of the European regiments, to act as a kind of foremen in the department of the commissariat and ordnance. These are flourishing men, if we may judge by the portliness of their persons, and the gorgeous trappings of their wives and children, as well as from their riding the best horses, and inhabiting the most convenient houses of any persons at the station. The Parsee shops command a beautiful view of the river, as does also the residence of the political agent, which is on a line with them, and has a very good garden, but must, from its situation, be exceedingly hot in the hot season. Old Sukkur is little else than a heap of mud ruins. It was, in fact, deserted, but the influence of British rupees has already adorned it with some new native houses. It has one handsome mosque, the dome of which is covered with blue and variegated tiles, like the tombs near Tattah; and at this a remarkably fine tigress is kept at the expense of the Hydrabad Ameers. She appeared fed and fattened to excess, which was just as well, for she was in a decayed wooden cage, the door of which was tied with a piece of ropeyarn, so that if

she had been inclined for roaming there was very little to prevent her. The fort at Bukkur occupies the whole of an island in the middle of the river; there are two other small islands a little way below it, one with a square tomb, surmounted by a dome in the centre. Bukkur is rather a pretty object, especially at a distance, but it is a place of no strength; the walls are much decayed, and within, it is a heap of ruins. On the opposite bank of the river is Roree, which I did not visit, for the disastrous news from Kabul had given rise to some apprehensions of disturbance there; but it has a much greater appearance of extent and population than old Sukkur, and has one mosque, apparently of considerable importance

I was able to celebrate divine service regularly, and to administer the holy communion, during my stay at Sukkur. I had morning service at Sukkur by the kindness of Captains Grant and Stather, at their house, which had a spacious room. All seemed gratified, for it was long since they had seen a clergyman, though they had always had prayers read by an officer. The evening service was at Bukkur, for the benefit of the European soldiers, who, whatever be their feelings, claim

this praise, that they are invariably the most attentive of any audience to whom it has been my lot to minister. A sketch of the place and manner of arrangement of divine service at Bukkur, will strongly illustrate the kind of shifts to which a poor chaplain is liable to be reduced in this campaigning life. The church was prepared in a ruined building, which had once had a groined and vaulted roof. This had given way, and large masses of shattered brickwork seemed much inclined to follow it. On three sides were lofty pointed arches, which universally prevail, as far as I have seen, throughout Sinde and Affghanistan. The ordnance department had kindly issued planks, which were laid with the ends resting on empty ammunition boxes, so that the poor fellows had comfortable seats. It was a curious and striking scene. As I stood, the arches to the right and left disclosed the tools and machinery of the ordnance workshops, forges and anvils, carpenters' benches, lathes, &c., erected among the crumbling ruins, which lowered and frowned upon their scoty intruders, as an old country aristocrat might be supposed to do upon some upstart who had established himself in his neighbourhood. The

centre was occupied by the officers and troops; a lofty arch behind them gave, as a background, other crumbling ruins of the fort, glowing in the setting sun, and surrounded by cannon, mortars, tumbrils, tents, and all the various paraphernalia of modern warfare. "What a strange contrast," thought I, "is my present life to the uniform routine of a curacy at home! Here I am feelingly convinced of the comparative insignificance of those outward accompaniments of worship, concerning which there are often such bitter disputes at home. While men are as eagerly discussing the position of a pulpit, the decorations of a communion-table, the form of a vestment, as if their salvation depended upon it, I am satisfied to get under the fly of a tent, or the shade of a ruined wall, with a discarded packing-case for a pulpit, to dispense the Word of Life to as many as will hear me. Not that the decent solemnities of the house of God are to be regarded as unimportant—indeed there is abundant room for the exercise of a little ingenuity in providing some portable ecclesiastical furniture for a chaplain in the field;—but surely such external things should not be allowed to cause a breach of christian charity among members

of the same body, the church, and sharers in the same blessed hope, through one common Saviour.

While here, I had a proof that I might fairly consider myself *in the field*, in being called, for the first time, to bury a man without a coffin. Many have I since committed to the silent grave, not only without coffins, but some without even the protection of a wrapper. The corpse of this poor fellow, a private of H. M. 40th regiment, was sowed up in his bedding. I thought they should have padded it within, in order more effectually to conceal the figure, for its shape was clearly shown, indeed too clearly, looking something like an Egyptian mummy. As it was lowered into the grave, its flexibility gave me a momentary shudder; it had so much the appearance of voluntary motion. During my stay at Sukkur, the native reports with regard to the force at Kabul, became more and more appalling, and though we tried to think them too dreadful to be true, yet they all at length proved to be substantially correct. The news of Burnes' death, which we had heard at Tattah, was followed by that of Sir W. H. M'Naughten, and Mr. Trevor, and his children, the latter of which turned out a false report.

The negociations with Ackbar Khan, the disastrous retreat upon Jellalabad, the total annihilation of the force, by cold, starvation, and the enemy, with the seizure of the ladies, were announced in rapid succession, keeping us in a fever of anxiety and excitement, not unmingled with apprehensions for the safety of Sukkur, if the Ameers of Sinde should be emboldened to make a sudden attack. Nor were such apprehensions altogether without foundation. Such was the infatuated and blind security with which matters in this country had been conducted, or rather neglected, before the revolt at Kabul, that I did not see a single station from Kurachee to Kandahar, which appeared to have been planned with any view to defence, or any recollection that the occupants were in an enemy's country. If a sudden attack had been made on Sukkur at this period, the old fort of Bukkur was the only place to which we could have retired with any chance even of temporary security, and the whole of the commissariat stores, and the greater part of the guns, were on the bank of the river at least a mile off, with the Indus between them and Bukkur, and totally incapable of being protected from it.

January 27th, we received the ever-welcome

overland mail, and shortly after, the guns thundered out a royal salute for the birth of a Prince of Wales. Poor child! he has come into the world in a troublous time—may God preserve him for happier days!

On the 30th January, the head quarters of H. M. 41st regiment arrived, and I began consequently to get all in readiness for my departure.

On the 2nd February, at gun fire, having seen my kit loaded, I rode to the camp of H. M. 41st, and met Major Gore Browne, the commanding officer. Here was a fearful roaring of camels, shouting of men, and barking of dogs, with all that indescribable Babel of tongues, which is always found wherever natives have any work to do. In due time the column moved on, and the major and I walked some distance, on account of the exceeding coldness of the morning. We then mounted our horses, and went on chatting and enjoying the coolness of the morning, now no longer cold, but tempered by the rays of the sun, and, getting gradually in advance of the column, we arrived, about half-past ten, A. M., at Lukkee, sixteen miles. The mess-tent had been sent in advance, that we might have breakfast ready on our arrival; but when we

came, we looked around in vain either for mess-tent or kit, and having no other resource we sat down, looking somewhat blank, on some sacks of commissariat grain, where, as the sun grew warm, I soon fell asleep. Awaking after a time, I found myself surrounded by the officers of the regiment, looking very sharpset, and betraying sundry marks of impatience. All in vain, however, for no mess-tent could be found, nor did it arrive till the afternoon, nor were the wants of the sufferers supplied, until six P. M. It appeared that the convoy had missed the road and gone to another station. Thanks to the kindness of my friends at Sukkur, I had been supplied with a substantial breakfast before I started; I was not, therefore, so badly off as many, yet even I was very glad to hear the bugle for dinner.

The next morning, (February 3,) after a march of about ten miles, we reached Shikarpore, about half-past nine A. M., and I made my way to Captain Thomas, who had preceded me from Sukkur and joined the wing of his regiment which was here. I found him preparing for breakfast by the side of a good fire, which the sharpness of the morning air rendered very agreeable. The appearance of the camp was rather lively, for the head-quarters

of the 3rd regiment, light cavalry, happened to be coming in from an opposite direction, at the same time with H. M. 41st regiment, both regiments with bands playing, &c. Shikarpore is the principal town of a district, for the purchase of which the Honourable Company were then negotiating with the Ameers of Sinde, an arrangement which subsequently fell to the ground. The town has an extensive trade, and bazaar plentifully supplied; very superior carpets, silks, and shields, are manufactured here. I did not go into the town, for the rumours from Kabul had produced such an excitement among the people, that it was not considered safe for a Feringee to trust himself among them without arms and escort. The British lines, at present, are little else than dust and mud hovels; but the neighbourhood of the town has some fine trees. The soil is said to be very rich and productive, and by the reopening of a canal from the Indus, long disused, it is expected to realise large profits.

We halted at Shikarpore till February 7th, during which interval the head-quarters of the 8th regiment, N. I., arrived there, and I once more had the pleasure of seeing Captain Steuart and the ladies, with other Kurachee

friends, On Sunday, by the kindness of the political agent, Lieutenant Postans, I was enabled to assemble all the European troops for divine service, in a large and commodious room at the Residency, where I preached to them from Isaiah lv. 1. I had called, the previous day, on Lieutenant Postans, and met Mrs. Postans, the authoress of a work on Western India.

On Monday, 7th, we again set out on our march at gun-fire, and about half-past ten A. M., halted at Jagun, a village with a mud fort, and a travellers' bungalow, lately built, on a very commodious plan, by the British government. A similar misfortune to that at Lukkee, here befel the mess-kit, not, however, by the losing of the road, but because the camels, having grown restive, had thrown their loads, and ran off, followed by the camel-men; the result to us was similar to the former,—a grievance of course only to *young* campaigners, and those of the *regular* corps. To avoid future mischances, three bullock garrees (carts,) were sent in advance, under a guard, with the mess-kit for breakfast, the rest following with the other baggage. Here I began to perceive, by the additional pains and vigilance displayed in form-

ing the camp, posting sentries, &c., that we were getting beyond the bounds of secure travelling.

8th. Having learned wisdom by experience, I took care this morning to be provided with some hard boiled eggs, beef, &c., which my butler carried on a pony behind me, that I might not pass the same lenten days as on the two former occasions. We halted at Janidera, twelve miles, where is another rather extensive mud fort, and a travellers' bungalow newly built. I never passed through a country which afforded so little scope for description; it is a perfectly flat plain, with no feature but the tamarisk jungle, stunted and dusty, which covers it in every direction. Near the halting stations, where water is to be found, there is generally a tree or two, but nowhere else. The dust is almost suffocating. This morning at starting, a couple of my camels took it into their wise heads to begin fighting, with their loads on their backs. I expected nothing less than the destruction of the kit; however, by strenuous application of the clubs of the camel-men to their heads and ribs, they were parted before any mischief ensued. It is very startling, and almost appalling, when a vagary of this kind seizes these enormous

beasts, who are usually so placid and imperturbable. Rode through the same flat, uninteresting plain, with clouds of dust, to Roghan, a place exactly resembling Janidera, only with a bungalow smaller and inferior. Nothing can be more similar to each other than these mud forts. A square or oblong of four mud walls about fourteen feet high, terminating in a battlement of the form of a spear-head, with a round bastion, like a windmill, at each corner, are the universal characteristics. The land appears to produce largely, upon irrigation, but here the water is brackish, and the next stage is desert. This was the first day I ever travelled with pistols in my belt, my ghora-wala following me with a gun charged with ball!

Thursday, February 10. Having halted at Roghan till one P. M., and made the best provision we could for water, by filling all our empty bottles, and watering all the cattle, we marched about thirteen miles into the desert. About two miles after starting, the shrubs began to get more and more stunted, till at length we had a clear horizon exactly like that of the ocean; the only objects upon which the eye could rest, being the frequent carcases, or whitened bones, of dead camels,

which thickly strewed the otherwise perfectly flat and unvaried plain. A scene of more utter desolation cannot well be conceived. The surface was not sandy or shifting, but hard and solid earth, like the levelled earthen floor of a mud building. I have no doubt that the soil is good, and that, if supplied with water, it would be as abundantly productive as the rest of the country through which we passed.

11th. Started early in the morning: a most magnificent sunrise; numerous floating clouds of the richest golden colour, on a sky of glowing crimson. I never saw a more splendid sunrise, for generally, I think, it is poor and tame compared to a sunset. I was detained, by the idleness of my servants, some time after the column, and by this detention, had an opportunity, as I rode on, of seeing the whole cavalcade of baggage, &c., which was of course in rear of the column. I can scarcely conceive anything that would excite more astonishment, if it could be exhibited in England, than the multitudes, the variety of costume, &c., attending the march of a regiment in India. Several hundreds of camels, led by natives in every variety of picturesque Sindian and Hindoostanee garb; carts which might

be the identical "stridentia plaustra" of the classics, drawn by bullocks with heavy yokes, and impelled by goads; the irregular cavalry, with dresses in which the gayest colours were brought into the strongest contrast, their long black locks floating in the wind, their animated gestures, loud cries, and quivering spears, now urging their horses forward, now checking them in full career; the regular cavalry, with their elegant light blue uniform, and systematic movements, powerfully contrasting with the erratic evolutions and dresses of the irregulars; native and European infantry; officers on horseback, some in furs, some in cloaks, as they might best resist the cold of the morning; all this in the midst of a pathless and unfeatured desert, was a wild and animated scene. The appearance of mirage in this desert, was more curious than I ever saw it before, though I have frequently seen it early in the morning, in Lower Sinde. In some places it had exactly the appearance of a large lake flowing within half a mile, as if to mock poor mortals with the appearance of that of which there was, in fact, the greatest destitution. Sometimes the camels in advance would appear of large and unnatural size, their bodies and loads floating in the air, while the

legs were entirely hidden by the mirage. A small building on the left, in the midst of this scene of desolation, seemed cut off at the bottom, and hanging suspended in mid-air. Here also I perceived the propriety of the term applied to the camel, "the ship of the desert," for they appeared and disappeared on the horizon, precisely as a ship does on the ocean. After proceeding for several miles, some distant appearances of vegetation were seen which gradually increased till we came to Bushuree, where we encamped. From hence to Dadur the march is through Cutch Gundava. The water here is wretchedly bad, both brackish and fœtid, and very difficult to be procured. In the travellers' bungalow, I found Ensigns Barker and Laurie, 21st regiment, N. I., with several other officers coming down to Kurachee sick. Barker was looking very pallid and thin. What a change since he and Bourchier made up our pic-nic party at the Mugger Tullao! Poor Bourchier lay mouldering at Sukkur. Barker was very much broken, whilst I remained in perfect health; and yet, to look at the three, how different would have been man's predictions! May the recollection fill me with gratitude, and at the same time remind me how frail I am!

The following day we halted at Bushuree, and here I unexpectedly fell in with Captain Henderson, Madras Engineers, whom I had previously met at Kurachee, and who rode over from Kunda to our camp—an excellent Christian, with whom I had some very delightful conversation. How refreshing are such meetings, under such circumstances! Henderson took me to the village and fort, and introduced me to the head man, a lad about eighteen years old, who, as well as his uncle, had very decidedly Jewish features. Henderson explained that I was a padre, a moollah; they received us with great respect, and attended us to the gate. Their houses were wretched hovels, but their method of storing grain was curious, not peculiar, I believe, to Sinde, but quite new to me. They had some scores of large, unburnt earthen vessels, about eight feet high, something in the form of a large chimney-pot, with an earthen cover, and towards the bottom a hole with a spiggot, from which the grain was allowed to run as occasion required.

Sunday, Feb. 13.—Marched at six A.M., How little like a Christian sabbath did it appear! After four hours, arrived at our halting ground, at Meerpore, and found my tent

pitched and kettle boiling. I had sent the servants in advance. At one P. M. read prayers, and exhorted the sick in hospital. The weather turned out wet, and the men could not be assembled for divine service; I therefore gave notice that I should have service in my own tent at four P. M., for such as were willing to attend. I had a very small congregation, but though grieved to see the holy ordinances of religion so little valued, yet I found the faithfulness of the promise, Matt. xviii. 20, "Where two or three are gathered together in my name, there am I in the midst of them." Indeed, I have frequently found the happiest seasons of spiritual enjoyment where the service appeared likely to be most discouraging.

The rain descended during the night in a steady soaking shower. I was surprised at the manner in which the tent resisted it; not only was I perfectly dry within, but the inner shell of the tent was not even damp. I had no idea before that these canvass dwellings were so water-tight.

On the Monday, nothing could be more miserable than the landscape. The sky of one uniform inky hue in every direction. The camp, like a large cattle fair in England on a

rainy day, the horses standing melancholy and dejected, a wide expanse of trampled mud between the tents, wet grass and hay scattered about, and spectral native figures wrapped up in their blankets, gliding silently, or crouching on their heels, and contracted into the smallest possible space. Wet or cold seems invariably to paralyze a native, and his general aspect and appearance become fallen and wretched to the utmost degree. Thus passed the day, for the rain compelled us to halt; there was very little forage to be had for the cattle, and the water was miserably bad.

The night of the 15th turned out more wet and unpropitious than the former, but in the morning, the clouds rose like a curtain all round the horizon, and disclosed most magnificent ranges of hills in front, the higher parts and more distant peaks of which to the right and left were covered with snow, a sight perfectly novel to the natives, and but little expected by most of the Europeans. It is almost impossible to convey an idea of the exhilarating effect produced by this sight, upon men who had been so long wearied with a sterile and apparently interminable plain. Many of the men exclaimed that they had got

back to Europe again. I had never before seen snow-capped mountains, and it is not easy to conceive anything more beautiful than the roseate effect of the morning sun upon their dazzling peaks. He soon after shone out upon us, and having given him as much time as we could to dry our wet tents, and laid in a good breakfast, we set off a few minutes after ten A. M. This was the most interesting march I had hitherto had. At about three miles we passed the village of Kassim ki Kote, on our right, and in succession abundance of ruined villages, the names of which we were unable to learn, but which strongly reminded me of the conversation between the parent owls, as to the portioning of their children, related to the Sultan Mahmood by his vizier. They were all fortified by mud walls, with circular bastions at the corners, flanking the walls. One of these appeared to have been recently sacked and burnt. Black ashes filled the area within the walls, and the earthen vessels for storing grain remained uninjured. *Mutatis mutandis*, all might be likened to the state of the English and Scottish borders, during the middle ages—every place fortified, every man armed—no security except that of personal strength, valour, or cun-

ning. We passed a tribe of Nomade Beloochs, under small black felt tents, supported upon stakes; ponies and asses were gleaning the scanty forage, and a group of men, women, and children, sat on their hams, near our track, watching the cavalcade as it approached. They reminded me not a little of the tribes of gypsies at home, but looked wilder and poorer.

Some tracts of country through which we passed were cultivated with cotton and bajra, but who shall gather the crop, must be most uncertain. How greatly does the spectacle of a country so desolate, enhance, in the estimation of the traveller, the blessings of settled government and domestic peace!

The Bolan range of mountains was the great attraction throughout the march. It would be little to say, that they towered towards the clouds, for the clouds were rolling along their breasts, and their peaks rose high above them. Ridge appeared above ridge, and the effect of light and shade, from passing clouds, now throwing prominently forward, and now obscuring their inequalities and chasms, was so varied and sublime, that the eye was never wearied with watching it. Though at the distance of at least fifty miles, they were so vast that their bases appeared within a moderate

morning's canter; and though we afterwards found, as we got nearer, that they were masses of barren rock, yet at this distance they had a purple hue, that resembled heather.

About one P. M. we arrived at Koka, our halting ground, and found the earth nearly dry, notwithstanding the late heavy rain. Here was another mud fort, precisely similar to those at which we had halted every day.

The next day's march was in the face of a bitter north-east wind, than which I have seldom experienced anything more cutting, even in England. Baugh, which was our halting place, is a principal town in Upper Sinde, and from a distance appeared a place of considerable importance; but, like all these places in Sinde, on reaching it, it dwindled into a miserable collection of mud hovels, surrounded by an unbattled mud wall, and ornamented with the domes of a few inconsiderable musjids. Though enjoying a plentiful supply of water from a neighbouring river, the herbage was scanty and the trees stunted. The farther we went, the more wretched did the country become.

Arrived at the travellers' bungalow, a party of officers, coming down, welcomed us to a good fire, some excellent wild hog, and grilled

fowl; most acceptable were all three. We encamped on a clean and level plain, and took every precaution against thieves, for whom this place is so notorious. The day was so bitterly cold that we appeared at dinner in our posteens (long garments of leather lined with fur) and cloaks.

On the following morning, my Portuguese servant came into the tent, bringing a piece of ice, about as thick as a rupee, his countenance expressive of mingled glee and astonishment, which distorted it into a most ludicrous grin. I suppose he might have seen ice at Bombay, as an article of importation, but he had never seen it in the natural course of formation. He ate some of it with great apparent enjoyment, munching it, and pronouncing it excellent.*

Notwithstanding all precautions, two camels, belonging to the 8th regiment, N. I., were carried off during the night. We had here the enjoyment of good water; a luxury, the value of which is unknown to those who have not been similarly situated. At the two last halting places, it had been so fetid and execrable, that, so far from attempting to drink it, it became a question whether by

* Thermometer at seven A. M. thirty-eight degrees.

wading in it we were not rendered dirtier than before. In the evening I walked into the bazaar, a narrow street of sorry mud huts, roofed overhead, and, notwithstanding the coldness of the weather, insufferably close. How do these people exist in the hot season? I saw little but grain exposed for sale.

Our next day's march was to Haji ka Shere, a walled village, with wholesome though muddy water. Here, in the night, a shot was fired by one of the sentries upon a thief, who was attempting to steal some cooking pots. Two shots had been fired the previous night, but without any other effect than frightening away the thieves and saving the goods. Notwithstanding the cold of the nights and mornings, the middle of the days began to grow very hot, and the snow on the nearer hills was evidently melting.

On the following morning, a march of seven miles brought us to Mittree; the ground was prettily undulated, and the proximity of a river, which we forded twice, giving a verdant foreground, the landscape was exquisite. Every day's march exhibits, in a varied point of view, the bold ridges of these magnificent mountains, rising one above another, with striking contrasts of light and shade, the most

distant covered with dazzling snow, and gradually mingling with the tints of the sky.

Sunday, Feb. 20. Marched at half-past eight A. M. O what a Sunday! God in his goodness preserve me from another such! After a grilling march of sixteen miles, we arrived at General England's camp at Dadur, at about half-past one P. M. I was in hopes I should get into the bungalow built by government for travellers, but found that, contrary to all regulation, the officer commanding it had taken up the whole for his own private accommodation, and after riding hither and thither in a burning sun, to know where to pitch my tent, was overtaken by night without any opportunity for public worship, and but little for private devotion and meditation. How did I envy my friends at home what Mrs. Hemans calls "the holy quietness that breathes on sabbath hours!" The weather from this time became exceedingly hot for the season of the year; thermometer in tents from ninety-seven to a hundred degrees; and the flies an absolute plague. There was an entire stagnation of air, and the suffocating sensation to us who had so lately experienced such cold weather was most distressing. There was an uni-

versal longing for the day when we should quit Dadur. It is indeed a dreadful place, and seems from its situation, formed to be, as it really is, one of the hottest places in the world. It receives the reflected heat of the sun from the towering bank of bare rocky mountains under which it lies, and which, surrounding it on three sides, casts down the rays upon it as upon the focus of a reflecting mirror. It is of this place that the Brahooees have a proverbial saying, to the effect that no other place of final torment was needed after the formation of Dadur. The descriptions given by those who have passed a hot season there are most painful. Men by no means given to exaggeration assured me that they envied the dead, and that they would rather die than pass another season there; that the thermometer in tents was at one hundred and thirty degrees, with an entire stagnation of air. Those who are acquainted with the East will understand what this must be; for the mere height of the thermometer is no criterion of the sense of oppression. If there is a breeze, though a hot one, you can always lower the temperature considerably by tatties, but the stagnant atmosphere admits of no remedy. In India, even

this is partially remedied by the thermantidote, an instrument on the principle of a winnowing machine, which creates a current of air; but in situations where at present it is difficult to procure carriage for the necessaries of life, it must be long before these luxuries can be introduced.

The depredations upon property, especially upon camels, were so frequent and daring, that I thankfully accepted the kind offer of Major Woodhouse, commanding the 6th regiment, N. I., to remove my quarters within a breastwork where the officers of that regiment were stationed. I was most hospitably welcomed by Dr. Tait, one of my fellow-voyagers from Europe, by whom I was introduced as an honorary member of their mess. Certainly one of the greatest charms of Indian society is the overflowing kindness and hospitality met with on every side. Not that I would draw an invidious comparison, as some have done, to the disparagement of home society. The cases admit of no comparison. At home, the utmost caution is indispensably necessary before a comparative stranger can be received into society. In India, on the contrary, every man's rank and position is clearly determined; his character, too, in a short time is pretty

generally known, and he and all by whom he is entertained, are in one and the same service, whether in the ecclesiastical, civil, or military branch of it.

During my stay here I was able to have divine service regularly twice on Sundays: once in the open air, at five o'clock A. M., for H. M. 41st regiment, and 1st troop of Bombay Horse Artillery, and again in the morning (eleven A. M.) at Major Woodhouse's house, where there was a good attendance of officers.

At Dadur I met Major Outram, whom I had previously known at Kurachee. He was residing here as political agent, and had a camp separate from that of General England. On one occasion I met a very large party at his table, where the conversation turned much upon the outbreak at Kabul, of which almost every day was disclosing fresh horrors. Many ingenious conjectures were offered in explanation of the extraordinary fact that so extensive a conspiracy could have been organized without the slightest information concerning it having transpired; but none of them seemed very satisfactory. At this party I met Colonel Stacey, of the Bengal army, who was then with Nusseer

Khan of Khelat, whom he had been the means of bringing into alliance with the British, after long efforts and many disappointments. I found him a very lively old gentleman, well acquainted with Oxford, and had much interesting conversation about Alma Mater in the olden time. While here, our whole week was taken up with Mahommedan and Hindoo festivals; tom-toms beating night and day; long processions, in which ornamented pagodas, like baby-houses, were carried on men's shoulders, "with many a bell and tawdry rag on;" and savage figures, painted on their naked flesh, dancing about with every kind of fantastic monkey trick, to the frantic delight of the beholders, who are but great children. My Hindoo servants came to me, besmeared on their foreheads with red paint, and with many genuflections and winning smiles, in a sort of coaxing way, begged for money. Poor creatures! May God hasten the time when they shall turn from idols to the living and true God! On such occasions I bitterly regret that I cannot freely communicate with them, and tell them what I think with regard to these matters; and my present wandering life, alas! affords me few facilities for doing so; for

though I gain more *words*, they are merely the names of those things of which I feel the daily need, and I am as far as ever from any interchange of *ideas*; indeed the knowledge of the language which most possess appears to me to be little more than this, and to turn almost entirely upon military duty, or the concerns of the Bazaar.

On the 25th of February I rode over to Major Outram's camp, intending to pay my respects to the young Khan of Khelat; but found the major's horse saddled, and himself waiting to accompany his highness to the lines of H. M. 41st regiment, to hear the band. I remounted, and in a short time the khan appeared. There was a large cavalcade: several principal chiefs, his relations, attended him, with long black beards, small round scull-caps, richly coloured silk dresses, targets, and swords; a cloud of spearmen curvetted and galloped their horses around; and inferior attendants trotted on foot. The khan was in front, on horseback; immediately behind him, Colonel Stacey, on a sowarree (riding) camel richly caparisoned; the colonel in native costume, which I fancy he constantly wears. I was introduced to the khan as a moollah of the Feringees, the only title by

which he could be made to comprehend my character and profession. We bowed, and then rode on, Major Outram on the right hand, and I on the left. The khan is about seventeen, and very dark, which is not usual with men of rank in this country; but it is said to be owing to the wandering and exposed life he has led since his father's death. Some call him handsome, but I cannot say I thought him so. His countenance looked deeply lined, and prematurely careworn, so that I should have thought him much more than seventeen. His look is expressive of great haughtiness, and a dark scowl of distrust is on his brow, which, by-the-bye, is easily accounted for, since the fickle and capricious treatment of his father and himself has not been likely to inspire confidence in us. His father, Meerab Khan, was killed, and himself deposed and exiled; but, upon a turn of politics, it was deemed expedient that he should be restored; he was therefore pursued, caught, and again placed on his throne, under British protection, to his own astonishment and that of every one around him. He is said, however, to be very affable, and, to adopt many European customs, particularly that of personal cleanliness, for the neglect of which

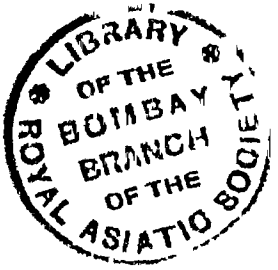
his countrymen are proverbial. His long black ringlets, floating in the evening air, and waving to the motion of his horse, would be an object of admiration, perhaps of some envy, to the young ladies at home. He was richly dressed in loose trowsers and vest of crimson silk, embroidered with gold, and slippers of the same; a target covered with crimson velvet on the left shoulder; and a curved sword with a sheath of the same colour. He rode a powerful bay horse, with a richly-mounted native saddle, housing, bridle, martingale, &c., with various colours and gold ornaments, according to their fantastic method of dressing up their horses.

We rode at a sort of mincing, prancing, curvetting pace, not really going faster than if we were walking, but fretting ourselves and our horses into a perfect foam; "a peculiarly desirable pace," as one of the officers ironically remarked, "for a close evening." But this is the native style, especially on occasions of ceremony, and it is surprising how soon our own horses catch the infection, when they see a number of others curvetting and sidling around them. At length we arrived at the parade ground of H. M. 41st. The guard was under arms—presented—the band struck up,

—we all dismounted, and the elite entered Major Gore Browne's tent. His highness was handed to a chair, in which he sat as a European; but the chiefs and nobles preferred the floor, where they sat on their hams on the carpets. The colours of the regiment were suspended in the tent, and the examination and explanation of them occupied some time. His highness inquired after the major's pet goat and Arab horse, with whom he had been acquainted the year before. Alas! they had both died in the Bolan Pass. He next asked after the acting adjutant of the regiment, who, being in the land of the living, came forward and made his salaam. The band played, we seemed to listen; but the air was fearfully stagnant, and our conversation more so. A dignitary sitting at my feet asked me, in the accustomed phrase, if I were happy, to which I replied, according to custom, "Perfectly happy"—a statement, I am afraid, to be received with some abatement—and there the matter dropped. At length his highness rose, the major attended him, the guard presented, he mounted his horse, and the pageant passed away.

Early in March we made preparations for moving. The whole of the first week was one

of extreme heat and great discomfort; but Sunday, the 6th, exceeded all. There was a hot wind, whirling clouds of dust into my tent, and the plague of flies was most intolerable. The heat in the house during divine service was such, that I fairly staggered while preaching; and the mountains, for the last two days, though close at hand, had been but dimly outlined, through a flickering mist like that over a furnace, which I understand is their general appearance during the hot weather. I left Dadur with the most unpleasing recollections, and sincerely thanked God that I was not destined to spend a hot season there.



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CHAPTER V.

THE BOLAN PASS.

On Monday, 7th March, I roused my people at two A. M., and began the usual preparations for marching. The first day's march, after a halt of only a few days, is generally confused and unpleasant, for the servants appear to have everything to learn afresh, and one's patience is sorely tried. The Bolan Pass, through which our road lay, is so utterly barren and unproductive, that the traveller must provide grain, forage, and fire-wood, for which purpose I procured two additional camels, making my number nine. The cavalcade, consisting of the 1st troop of Bombay horse artillery, a wing of H. M. 41st regiment, a wing of the 6th regiment, N. I., with a party of the 3rd Bombay light cavalry, and one hundred and sixty Poona horse, together

with some hundreds of camels, was rather imposing to an unpractised eye like mine, though I was destined afterwards to see much greater things. Several of the officers remaining at Dadur rode out to bring us on our way, and many a "shabash" (hurra) was bestowed on the wing of the 6th regiment, N. I., by their companions of the other wing, who lined the road.

About one mile out of camp we came to a most disgusting spectacle. The plain, for about half a mile in length, and the same in width, was entirely occupied by the carcases of dead camels, in every stage of decay. A narrow road had been cleared through them, but so thickly were they crowded, that if the traveller quitted this road to the right or left, there was scarcely room to pass between them. The effect on the olfactories may be conceived; it is astonishing that such a slovenly method of disposing of them, instead of burying them, should have been permitted, for when the wind set from that quarter the stench was sufficient to have caused a pestilence in camp. In a short time we entered the pass, and crossed again and again a small stream, called the Bolan River, which ran its winding course of shallow limpid water over

large pebbles. Most refreshing it was, after the arid desert through which I had passed, to see and hear it, and to gaze on the sedges and grass which grew on its banks! Months had passed since I had seen anything so pleasing. The sun by this time had risen, and was rather oppressive, when suddenly turning an angle, we came under the broad shade of the rock that bounded the gorge. Under this we rode for some time, and found it peculiarly grateful. I could not forbear remarking to a companion near me, the beautiful illustration we had had during our march of the force of the scripture metaphor, "As rivers of water in a dry place, as the shadow of a great rock in a weary land." (Isaiah xxxii. 2.)

The formation of these rocks is very singular. The bottom of the pass is a deep shingle of rounded pebbles; this is easily accounted for, as on falls of rain and the melting of snow, it is, in its whole breadth, the bed of a torrent; but the singularity is, that these vast mountains, *to their utmost height*, appear to be formed by deposits of running water. They are compounded of consolidated shingles and sand, and have very much the appearance of an old rubble wall, from which the outer

facing of hewn stone has been removed—Reading Abbey for instance; but there is not a stone, from the least to the largest, (and some are very large,) which is not rounded, evidently by the long action of water.

A little after nine A. M., we arrived at Kundye, our halting ground, about eleven miles. The atmosphere was already a happy change from Dadur, still hot, but with a cool breeze, no dust, and but few flies. On the following morning we marched at four A. M. It was dark, but beautifully starlight. Almost immediately after leaving camp, we crossed two bends of the river, rather deep, and running among coarse grass and reeds, so tall as to be far above the head even of a horseman. As the day broke, the gorge, for about three miles was very fine. Scarped, perpendicular rocks, running up to an immense height, in bold and rugged forms, overhung in many places the narrow pass below. The stream here slept silent and deep beneath the steep rocks, then wound in quick and lively turns, so that we were obliged to cross it again and again. In this spot I was told shots were frequently fired at parties travelling, and it seemed a place well adapted for the purposes of marauders. I am not competent to hazard

an opinion on the strength of this or any part of the Bolan Pass, in a military point of view, but it appeared to afford great advantages, and my notion seemed to be shared by the men of H. M. 41st, some of whom I heard remarking to each other, "What fools these people must be to let us into their country, when they have such a pass as this!"

After about three miles, the country became more open, and we travelled over a rocky and painful road, about ten miles, to Gurm-ab, (the warm spring,) and encamped in a part of the pass about one mile in width, with the river on the right hand.

9th. A march of eleven miles to Beebeenanee, on the bank of the river. This place has its name from a tale of a lady, who was pursued by some giants with evil designs, and who finding that her pursuers were gaining on her, called upon the mountains to cleave and rescue her from their violence. They very politely heard and obeyed, and a large cave remains to this day to attest the truth of the story. The march was over very stony and fatiguing ground, and the sun was so hot when we arrived, that I was glad, with two officers, to take refuge under an ammunition cart. We spread our cloaks for couches,

produced our cold beef, &c. &c., and made a tolerably comfortable breakfast, though under circumstances which will appear grotesque enough to people surrounded by English comforts.

10th. A most fatiguing march to Abegoom. The ascent, which had hitherto been scarcely perceptible, became considerable; and the stones and shingle so deep, that many of the cattle, especially the bullocks, suffered dreadfully, and some died on the road. I saw several unshod ponies, whose flowing blood was tracing their course all along the road. The artillery horses, though splendid beasts, and in high condition, seemed much fatigued. The little rills of limpid water at this place were very refreshing. In a small recess on the right side of the valley, raised so as to secure it in great measure from the effect of torrents, was the tomb of poor Mrs. Smith, the wife of a Bombay conductor, who was murdered in the pass last year, (Sept. 30, 1841,) while travelling to join her husband at Kwettah. It was pleasing to witness the good feeling with which the men of H. M. 41st set to work to replaster and repair the tomb; and I think there was scarcely one who did not go up in the course of the day to visit the

spot. The bandit whose gang is said to have committed this atrocity, Ali Deen Coord, was with us, receiving pay as a guide! There is certainly something revolting and most disreputable in the idea of a christian government condescending to purchase the services of such wretches as these.

11th. A short march of seven miles to Siri-bolan, where we encamped in the midst of a nullah on very bad ground, and not without some apprehension, for it threatened rain, and this is the spot where a Bengal party last year encountered a flood, which swept away all their baggage and cattle, and forty-five persons. I saw the skeleton of a camel, over which a large piece of rock had rolled, the limbs projecting from under it, and conjectured this to be a relic of the disaster. The water, it was stated, rose on this occasion to about the height of ten feet across the whole width of the pass, in a few minutes; and the banks being very steep, only those who happened to be in a practicable spot had the slightest chance of escape. The cause of this extraordinary phenomenon, whether from a water-spout or otherwise, has never, I believe, been ascertained, but the consciousness that such a visitation was possible, was

quite sufficient to excite apprehension: As we were on our march to-day, a Bengal officer and myself turned out of the gorge by a path which we thought would merely cut off an angle; but we found it so long, that, having merely a follower or two in sight, we became a little apprehensive lest we should fall in with some plunderers; others, however, followed our example, and at length the head of the column of H. M. 41st regiment coming in sight, dispelled all our fears. Though it was by no means prudent thus to get in advance of the column, I was not sorry that I had quitted the pass, for we saw many bubbling rills and grassy dells, which convinced me that these mountains are not so totally barren and unproductive as a merely superficial view would lead one to suppose. I saw during this march, as I had done on previous days, many striking spots for sketches, if I could have halted; but there was no stopping with safety, and our camping ground being generally in the wider parts of the pass, presented little of interest.

We heard to-day that the clan of Kaukers, who possess the right side of the pass, were assembled in the higher parts, and that some opposition might be anticipated on the morrow.

Some heavy drops fell on while we were at dinner, but after I had got to my tent the rain was driven off by a furious N. E. wind, which blew a hurricane all night. I was obliged to rouse up the people several times to keep the tent together, but in the morning both it and the servants' rowhe (a smaller tent) were complete wrecks. I do not remember ever to have passed so cold and wretched a night; and while bringing to recollection the comforts enjoyed in even the most ordinary house at home, I could not but adopt the plaint of the friar in the " Felon Sowe of Rokebye"—

> " Wist my brethren at this houre
> That I were set in sic a stoure
> Sure they would praye for me."

But, after all, few conditions are so bad but one may imagine worse, and I rose in the morning most thankful that there had not been a fall of rain in addition to the wind, the consequence of which no one could foretell. The whole camp presented a most dreary spectacle; shattered tents, and shivering, miserable people, met the eye on every side.

12th. The same piercing wind continued; the commissariat officer reported great num-

bers of camels unable to proceed, and a halt was ordered. I got my tent repitched, and secured it by iron tent-pegs, large stones, and ropes passed over the top. Happily it stood, and by the help of posteens and blankets I contrived to be pretty comfortable; fire we had none, for the pass yields no wood, and we had only brought sufficient for cooking purposes. I served out every kind of wrapper I could spare to the people, and with these, and hot tea and brandy-and-water, they weathered the night. We wrapped up the camels with their soletas, (large coarse canvass cloths, which are used for packing the loads,) and the horses with additional cloths, and no harm ensued; but the searching nature of this wind is indescribable.

Sunday, 13th. The same cutting wind continued; we were pitiable objects; our lips, hands, &c., all cracked and blistered, with the combined effects of cold and sun; wrapped up to the eyes in every garment we could heap upon us; camels and bullocks dying by the score. Yet we had great reason to thank God that there was neither rain nor snow, for if either had fallen, we must have lost many of our native followers. It was not many weeks since Colonel Marshall had lost several in a snow-

storm at the top of the pass. They were so thinly clad, so ill provided with bedding, and destitute of tents, that it was surprising how they stood it. It was utterly impossible to assemble the troops in the open air, so I celebrated divine service in my own tent, which was well filled, the general and several officers attending.

On Monday, the 14th, the wind having happily subsided, by nine o'clock we were in order of march. We were now to pass what are called by us the Zig-zags; what the natives call this part of the pass I know not. It consists of a narrow defile, making several sharp angular turns; the rocks on either side, particularly on the left, are scarped and perpendicular. It is by far the most formidable part of the whole, and Conolly says of it, "The minutest description could hardly convey a just idea of its strength; it is a defile which a regiment of brave men could defend against an army." He, however, did not know that it was possible to flank it, and the ascertaining of this fact has of course greatly lessened the idea of its strength which a first view would create. It was here that my friend, Lieutenant Tait, of the 6th regiment, N. I., was attacked last year; and we were

not without serious apprehensions of attack, both on account of native reports, and letters from the political agent at Kwettah. Every precaution, therefore, was taken. Major Boyd, quarter-master general, was sent with fifty Europeans, and a hundred native troops, about an hour and a half before the column moved, to crown the heights on the right side. Then followed the irregular horse, the horse artillery, and the column of the 6th regiment, N. I. Then about three thousand camels, and other beasts of burthen, carrying baggage, treasure, and ammunition; a wing of H. M. 41st, and a party of the 3rd light cavalry, brought up the rear.

About a mile from Ser-i-bolan, we entered this formidable defile. By an optical delusion, for which I could not account, it appeared at first entrance as if we were descending a hollow instead of making a considerable ascent. It was in some places not fifty yards wide, and so perpendicularly walled on each side, that a force might have suffered severe injury had stones been rolled down from above; the turns were so sharp and sudden, that it appeared as if we were marching directly against the rock in front, until, upon arriving at it, the road was discovered turning at a sharp angle

to that we had been traversing. There were many magnificent points of wild, desolate rock scenery, but we had little leisure to dwell upon them: for every eye was strained to discover puggerees (turbans) and matchlocks among the stones.

Some idea may be conceived of the height of these rocks: for I believe the Bolan Range rises about ten thousand feet above the level of the sea; the highest ascent of the pass is about five thousand feet above Dadur, which is seven hundred and forty-three feet above the level of the sea; this would leave above four thousand feet for the height of these rocks. The ascent, however, is exceedingly gradual, though the road is rendered most painful by broken rocks and large stones.

I set out with the officers of the 6th regiment, N. I., but gradually advanced from their column, till, in a more open part of the pass, I came up with the general and his staff, who had caught sight of Major Boyd and his flanking party, high on the right side of the defile, like little specks of red and white. We found afterwards that he had dispersed a small body of Kaukers, who were perched on the summit, doubtless intending to have a pop at us as opportunity offered. As a proof that

some were not far off, a private of the rear-guard, straying from his comrades, and having laid down his firelock, was pounced upon from behind and pinioned, and would doubtless have been murdered, if an alarm had not been given by some others advancing, on which they left him and scrambled up the rocks. I have no doubt we were narrowly watched the whole way, for they lie so closely, and their dresses are so nearly of the colour of the rock, that it is not easy to descry them.

The most dangerous part was now past, and while shoals of camels, in long lines, were wandering by and crowding into the last defile, Lieutenant Tait and I sat under the shade of a rock, and producing our supplies, made a very substantial tiffin. I have seldom enjoyed a luncheon more.

After leaving this defile, we emerged into a wide plain, which the Patans call Dusht-i-Bedoulut, (plain of poverty,) from its want of water; we had, however, brought a supply with us, and after dining, I retired to rest, truly grateful that the day had passed without bloodshed; and feeling that our unmolested passage was a merciful answer to the prayers offered up in the morning. It was a perfectly still night, but intensely cold.

On the 15th of March, we travelled sixteen miles, through a plain covered with southern-wood, to Sir-i-ab. The air was very sharp, and the puddles, as we passed them, were covered with ice. The southern-wood is found, apparently, all over Affghanistan, and appears to divide the empire with the jirwassee, or camel-thorn; the camels, and even horses and other cattle, browse upon it; this was the first I had met with, and the fragrance of it was very grateful, though almost overpowering.

On the following day, the 16th, I joined the quarter-master-general at an early hour, as I had engaged to ride in advance with him. The march was about seven miles into Kwettah. It was so intensely cold that we were glad to travel the first two or three miles on foot. As we proceeded, the immense peak of Tukkatoo was directly before us, covered with snow, and all the little rills we passed were fringed with ice. Major Boyd pointed out several small fortified villages under the hills to the left, inhabited by Syuds. A degree of sanctity appears to attach to these men, who boast themselves the descendants of the Prophet, something like that of the Levites among the Jews. Their persons are in a great measure sacred; they are supposed to have the

power to bless or to ban, and so great is the opinion entertained of their might, that on various occasions multitudes have been persuaded to follow them into action, under the full persuasion that they had *charmed* the powder of the Feringees, and rendered the balls harmless. Alas! poor fellows, they have been fearfully convinced of their delusion!

Drawing nearer to Kwettah, we were put on the *qui vive* by a body of about twelve horsemen, coming to meet us. They were richly dressed, heavily armed with matchlocks and swords, and decidedly better mounted than ourselves. We were only eight in number, six Poona horsemen, Major Boyd, and myself; and I had no arms of any kind. We approached each other slowly, the Major uttering aloud the accustomed salutation, "Alikoom Salem." They responded, "Salem Alikoom," and set our apprehensions at rest. We then joined them, and found they were natives of Moostung, coming to pay their respects to Colonel Stacey. The chief was a commanding figure, with a magnificent black beard. To the universal query, whether I were "khoosh," (happy,) I could with great sincerity reply that I was perfectly so. Had the question been put a few moments before,

truth would have compelled a very different reply. After the exchange of civilities, we made our salaam, and rode on to Kwettah.

This was certainly the prettiest spot I had seen in these lands: the fertile and well-watered valley of Shaul is surrounded by hills of the boldest form, and several thousand feet in height. In the middle of the valley is the little town, surrounded by a mud wall, in the centre of which rises the citadel, upon a mound seventy or eighty feet high, whether artificial or natural no one could inform me. The Residency, and lines of the 20th regiment, N. I., are near a tope of trees at some little distance, and had been hastily entrenched during the winter, to provide against an expected attack. Though the weather was so cold, the apricot trees were in blossom, and the ground was clothed in the freshest green, by a small bulbous plant, the iris, I believe, bearing a blue flower; by-the-bye, this same plant had nearly been the death of some of our horses, and about thirty bullocks fell victims to it on the first night after our arrival, for though so green and inviting in appearance, it is highly deleterious.

Here I first saw a Kaureez, a very ingenious sort of underground aqueduct, which is

common throughout Affghanistan. It is formed by sinking a number of shafts, at the distance of about twenty yards from each other, a tunnel is then made at the bottom, from one to another, and the water flows from the hills to any distance that may be required. Inequalities of level are thus overcome; the water is preserved from evaporation by the heat of the sun; and, what is still more important, cannot be drawn off, in any quantity, to water the fields of strangers, except by placing a Persian wheel, or some apparatus for raising it, for which a water-rate must be paid to the owner: hence the possessor of a good Kaureez is sure to derive a considerable income from it.

Major Boyd and myself were hospitably received and entertained by Major Apthorpe, of the 20th regiment, N. I., a gallant soldier, and so ardently attached to his profession, that when in Europe on furlough, he had joined the army in Spain, where he gained much distinction, and was honoured with the order of Isabella Catholica. Poor man! how little did I think, when he then received us, full of health and spirits, that less than a fortnight would terminate his earthly career, and that it would be my melancholy office to lay him

in an untimely grave. He died a soldier's death, one of the many whose blood has saturated the sandy deserts of Affghanistan.

We found that forage was exceedingly scarce around Kwettah, General England, therefore, determined to proceed to Killa ab Doolah, in the valley of Pisheen, five marches from Kwettah, where it was more plentiful. As there was another portion of the force coming up from Dadur in a few days, and it seemed exceedingly doubtful whether any opportunity would be found for proceeding to Kandahar, I resolved to remain for a time at Kwettah, and when the expected troops arrived, either to proceed with them to rejoin the general, or continue at Kwettah, as circumstances might determine. By this resolution, I providentially escaped a very harassing adventure, and some most painful scenes. I obtained a small house from a young officer of the 20th regiment, N. I., an humble habitation indeed. It consisted of one room, with a little closet, as a dressing-room, annexed. In materials and construction it was far below even a labourer's cottage in England; but, notwithstanding its earthen floor, mud walls, and roof of twigs also covered with mud, it appeared a palace to me, for it

had a fire-place and a glass-window of four panes; and I could keep out both the cold and the dust, which had been intolerable. How completely do altered circumstances change our ideas of comfort and convenience!

During my stay at Kwettah, I was enabled to celebrate divine service regularly twice on Sunday, and on Good Friday, in the morning at seven A.M. to the troops in the open air, and at eleven A.M. to the officers, in tents provided by the kindness of Major Sotheby, of the Bengal Artillery, whose acquaintance I made here, and whose kindness I uniformly experienced during the subsequent campaign. After his removal to command in the citadel we had service in the mess-room of the 20th regiment, N. I. Here also I administered the holy communion on Easter Day, to seven communicants.

On Sunday, 20th, we received the cheering news that a very determined attack upon Kandahar had been repulsed with great loss to the assailants, by Colonel Lane and the 2nd regiment Bengal N. I. General Nott was absent, and, they probably supposed, that he had taken with him his whole force. When they made their attack they set fire to the Herat Gate, and were so determined that they tore down the

burning planks, and some were killed even within the gate. The fire of the defenders, however, was so well sustained, that their utmost efforts were unavailing, and they retired with heavy loss, leaving multitudes of dead on the field, which is very unusual with them.

On the 24th, the force marched for the Pisheen Valley in high spirits. In taking leave of some of my old friends, I could not but regret that I was not going with them, and almost repented of the arrangements I had made. How totally ignorant are we of that which is for our future benefit, and how little do we appreciate that kind Providence which is ever watching over us!

We heard on the 26th, that they had had a skirmish on the first march — that about one hundred of the enemy's horse had appeared, and were attacked by a party of the 3rd regiment light cavalry. They fled precipitately, having two or three killed, and leaving two horses in the hands of the cavalry.

But on the 29th, news of a very different character reached us. A letter from an officer with the force, dated Hyderzye, 28th March,

stated, that on Easter Monday they had found the enemy collected in great force upon two hills, between Hyderzye and Hykulzye, with a breastwork in front; that after the guns had opened upon them, and the light companies, under Major Apthorpe, had advanced up the lower hill, the enemy opened a destructive fire, by which Captain May, commanding the light company of H. M. 41st regiment, was shot dead in the advance, and several men killed and wounded; that they were driven from the hill, and in their retreat were attacked in flank by a party of the enemy's cavalry, previously concealed, and Major Apthorpe mortally wounded; that the force then retired to a ruined fort near at hand, where they bivouacked for the night under heavy rain. This was dismal news indeed, nor was this the worst we were led to apprehend, for up to the 31st August, the most fearful and contradictory rumours kept us in continual agitation. At one time they were said to be hemmed into this ruined fort by overpowering numbers, without water and without a chance of escape; at another time we heard that they were in full retreat, harassed both by day and night, and great numbers cut off.

Thus we were agitated between hope and

fear, till, on the morning of the 31st, I heard that they were in sight. I got my horse saddled, galloped to the town, and ascended the citadel; here I found several officers with glasses, and ere long saw them coming through the Pass at about three miles distant; the horse artillery first, then the 6th regiment N. I., then the baggage and followers; H. M. 41st was bringing up the rear, and was not yet in sight. They appeared in very good order, but both men and horses very much fagged. Seeing some of my friends, I hastened down, and rode out to meet them, and learn authentic particulars. At the foot of the citadel I met the surgeon of the artillery, so unshorn, and disfigured by the effects of sun and dust, that I did not recognise him till after he had spoken. Next I fell in with the adjutant-general, all purple, with face swollen and lips cracked from the same cause. Then an officer of the grenadier company of H. M. 41st, informed me that they had had a last brush with the enemy, and had killed fifteen just on the other side of the Pass. Poor Apthorpe had died of his wounds at twelve P. M., on the previous night, having scarcely spoken since he was wounded. His body was brought in a doolie, (a common pa-

lanquin,) and deposited in a small tent in front of the lines of the 20th regiment N. I., where I went to view it. It was dreadfully mangled about the head and shoulders, and exhibited, (no less than the wounds of the men who were brought into hospital,) the deadly effect with which the enemy use their sabres. Many of the sepoys of his regiment went into the tent to view the body, and came away groaning and crying.

The following is a list of the casualties: some of the wounds were slight, but thirty-two men of H. M. 41st, were brought into hospital, all severely wounded.

Major Apthorpe, K. I. C., 20th N. I., died during the retreat.

Captain May, H. M. 41st regiment, killed in the advance.

	Killed.	Wounded.
H. M. 41st regiment, sergeants -	2	0
———————, rank and file	15	51
6th regiment N. I., sepoys - -	1	3
20th regiment N. I., sepoys - -	5	9
25th regiment N. I., sepoys - -	3	6
Total - - - - -	26	69

The evening was spent in roaming about in

search of friends, making inquiries, and congratulating them on their safety. At seven o'clock P. M., a large party assembled round the mess-table of the 20th regiment N. I., and though a sad gloom was cast over us by the loss of the major, and the unhappy issue of the affair, we were truly thankful to see so many friendly faces once more safe around the table.

A eight o'clock in the morning of the 1st April, I buried the mortal remains of poor Major Apthorpe: the attendance of officers was large, and the whole of the light battalion was present. A deep feeling of sorrow pervaded every one for his loss, both as a friend, and an ornament to the public service. It is not my intention to enter into any discussion of this calamitous affair. It would not become me to do so, as I was not present, nor if I had been, should I have been competent to form a judgment on its merits. It was much canvassed in the Indian papers, and an acrimonious anonymous correspondence arose, out of an unjust and ungenerous attempt to fix the odium of the failure on the native troops. The writer of this calumny acted *prudently* in suppressing his name, but he would have acted *honourably* in withholding his let-

ter, and the insinuations it contained. It was an affair greatly to be deplored, as it sacrificed the lives and efficiency of many gallant men without any results, spread great alarm throughout India, and raised the confidence of the enemy; happily, however, its injurious effects were by no means so extensive as it was at first apprehended they might prove.

On Sunday, 3rd, I preached to the men on the subject of their late losses and deliverance, from Psalm cxl. 7. Deep attention was manifested, and I trust and believe the service will not soon be forgotten by those present. The force expected from Dadur, under Major Simmons, arrived on the next day, and with them, to my great astonishment, came my good friend Captain Steuart, in command of the light company of the 8th regiment, N. I. I was delighted to see him, though sorry that he should have been compelled to leave his family for so distant an expedition. They had come up the Pass without casualties, except a wound received by a sepoy of the right flanking party, in the head, from a spent ball. They had heard of the failure at Hykulzye while they were in the Pass, and were apprehensive, not without reason, that it might raise the Kau-

kers, and increase their difficulties. Probably if they had been a few days later it might have done so. All attention appeared now to be directed to the entrenching and strengthening of Kwettah. Natives and Europeans were hard at work from day to day; the commissariat square was connected with the town by a covered way; a new line of defence was laid down around the cantonments; a ditch was dug, and a wall seven feet high thrown up. Perpetual rumours were in circulation, of attacks about to be made, and forces of the enemy collecting. At length the whole force, consisting of nearly 3,000, with the usual allotment of followers, was brought within the town and cantonment; horse and foot artillery, cavalry and infantry. We were dreadfully crowded, and strong apprehensions were entertained by the medical men that we should suffer dreadfully in health, as soon as the hot weather set in. Happily, however, these fears were soon rendered unnecessary, and the hot weather found us far away from Kwettah. There was, notwithstanding, a good deal of sickness, erysipelas, dysentery, and fever, and the hospitals were filling rapidly; the attacks of the enemy upon individual followers, which had been so frequent the year before, were re-

newed, and a poor woman, a grass-cutter, had her throat cut, and was left dead, about a quarter of a mile from camp. The gloomy aspect of affairs during this period was cheered by the news of further success at Kandahar; and the Sinde force having been placed under the command of General Nott, expectations were entertained that the force at Kwettah would be ordered to make another advance. This expectation proved well founded: on Saturday, April 23rd, the order arrived, and the 26th was fixed as the day of marching. Just before we left, we heard of the murder of Shah Soojah ool Moolk, who was shot by a party of Baurikzyes, while proceeding in his palanquin to join his camp at Bootkhak. General England, from a kind wish that I should not be exposed to the expected dangers and difficulties of the march, would have dissuaded me from accompanying the force, but as the whole of the European troops were going, I could not conceive it consistent with my duty to remain behind; besides, my duty and inclination in this case happily coincided, for a strong feeling of curiosity and desire of travel which I had felt from childhood, impelled me forward. The main difficulty was

respecting carriage, for, so little had such an advance been anticipated, before the force was placed under General Nott, that I, in common with most others, following the example of the general, had sold my camels, and bought a horse; and as camels were not abundant, and both ammunition and treasure in considerable quantities were to be conveyed, it was not easy to obtain them again. We were, however, allowed to purchase from the commissariat a certain number, graduated according to military rank; by this means I obtained three, and I was entitled to one for the carriage of clerical vestments, books, &c. It had required nine to bring my kit up the Bolan, and I was therefore obliged to lay aside everything that could possibly be spared, and (what I most regretted) nearly the whole of my books. The house, of course, was abandoned, and therefore I left Kwettah with a considerable pecuniary loss. A few clothes, and two cases containing groceries and liquors, constituted the principal part of my reduced kit; but it is astonishing with how many things a man can dispense, and with how few he can manage, with tolerable comfort, when necessity compels the sacrifice. With the exception of the books,

I hardly know that I felt inconveniently the want of any part of the five camel-loads which I left behind me. European supplies, by-the-bye, had reached an enormous price. At the sale of Major Apthorpe's effects, sherry was sold at fifty-seven rupees per dozen, beer at twenty-five rupees per dozen, and brandy and whisky at ten rupees per bottle,* all other goods of similar kind in the same proportion. Between one and two o'clock A. M, we started on our expedition; and though our force was now considerably augmented, we had heard so much about the defences in the Khojuk Pass, and the memory of the former failure was so recent, that while all were glad of the advance, and all manfully prepared to do their duty to the utmost, few, I imagine, felt so confident, as not to entertain some degree of anxiety as to the result. On the previous Sunday evening, after the usual services of the day, a few officers had joined me in social prayer to God for his blessing on the expedition, and from this devotional exercise we derived that confidence which the Christian is privileged to feel in committing the concerns of himself

* The value of the rupee is now two shillings sterling, these prices will, therefore, be easily transferred to English value.

and his country to the providential care of his heavenly Father.

As the first march from Kwettah conducts the traveller from the valley of Shaul into Affghanistan Proper, it may be as well that this march should commence a new chapter.

CHAPTER VI.

THE PISHEEN VALLEY AND THE KHOJUK PASS.

We started from Kwettah on a beautiful moonlight night. The lofty mountains, Chiltun and Tukkatoo, which enclose the valley of Shaul, lifted their bold forms magnificently relieved against the sky, and I could not but think, what an earthly paradise it would become, if it had those blessings of peace and security of property which the diffusion of Christianity, the great civiliser of mankind, would give it! As we entered the Pass where the last skirmish had taken place with the enemy, in the former expedition, the moonlight and daylight were struggling for the mastery. From the mouth of the Pass, a full view of the valley was obtained, with its amphitheatre of hills, and the citadel of Kwettah in the centre; the soil and the rocks were di-

versified with many kinds of English wild flowers, which irresistibly carried me home to my dear native land; amongst them, the common red poppy was the most conspicuous. The strata of the rocks in this neighbourhood are more remarkable than any that I have elsewhere seen. They run almost perpendicularly, and it was evident that some awful convulsion must have raised the previous horizontal formations, and pitched them on their edges. They appeared to be formed of limestone in distinct strata of about five feet depth each. The heat of the sun in this pass was greater than I had hitherto been exposed to without shelter. The pass is of considerable strength, and might easily be made good, especially against an enemy advancing from Pisheen into the valley of Shaul. At length we emerged into the Valley of Kuchlak; the scent of the southern-wood that covered the ground was delicious; a halt was sounded, and I sat under the shade of some rocks, which a young officer of H. M. 41st, who sat by me, told me were covered with men firing upon them in their retreat from Hykulzye. All was now still and silent, and some flanking parties which we sent out saw no one. In about half an hour we reached Kuchlak, our en-

camping ground, and right glad was I to obtain shelter from the burning heat. The next day the effects of this unwonted exposure to the sun showed themselves in a violent bilious headache and giddiness, which compelled me, after some unsuccessful efforts to sit my horse, to take to a doolie, in which uncomfortable conveyance I was jolted to the encamping ground at Hyderzye. It had rather lofty and rocky hills to the east, and low hills to the west, but was comparatively open to the north and south. In the valley was plenty of green wheat growing, to which all helped themselves without scruple, as forage was indispensable, the inhabitants had decamped, and there was no one to receive payment. In the course of the afternoon we were alarmed by a report that the enemy had made a chuppao (sudden attack) on our camels, which were out at graze, and had carried them off. A party of cavalry was sent out, and it was found that the Brahooee camel-men were carrying them off to the enemy. We were delighted to see these useful beasts come home again in safety. There is much in our adventures to illustrate scriptural and patriarchal times. In this case one could fully enter into the consternation of the servant of Job, who came to him exclaiming,

"The Chaldeans made out three bands, and fell upon the camels, and have carried them away, yea, and slain the servants with the edge of the sword, and I only am escaped alone to tell thee." (Job i. 17.) A more disastrous occurrence can scarcely be conceived, to travellers in a country where no dependence can be placed upon any supplies but those which they carry with them. In expectation of arriving the next day at the scene of the former defeat, I earnestly prayed that God would either avert an action, or crown us with victory.

Thursday, April 28. It was exactly a month this day since the former affair, and I set out from Hyderzye earnestly repeating my supplications that the remembrance of that day might be obliterated by a different result. We passed along a very fine road, through the valley of Kuchlak, diversified with English flowers, until about seven o'clock A. M., when we arrived upon the site of the former action, and immediately perceived that we were destined to witness a second. The heights in every direction were crowded with men. Horsemen were galloping to and fro, and a flag was displayed at each end of the low hill, which had been the former point of attack.

In the front was a level plain, gradually ascending. On the extreme left were some low hills, increasing in height towards the Pass, traversed by ravines, and terminating in a bluff point overlooking the Pass, and completely commanding all around it. The point was covered with the enemy; in advance of it, extending across the plain, were some low hills, through which ran the road, and upon which horsemen were from time to time riding, now rapidly, now slowly, flourishing their swords and curvetting their horses, as if in defiance. More to the right was the hill with the flags, considerably lower than the bluff point just described, and perhaps within juzzael (native rifle) range of it, though not within musket shot. Between this hill with the flags, and the low hill, was the road, out of which, and from behind those hills, the enemy's cavalry had charged with such deadly effect on the retreating light companies on the former occasion. On the extreme right were some slight elevations, to which the treasure, ammunition, and baggage-camels were drawn off, under the protection of a company of Bengal foot artillery (European), and two or three companies of native infantry, commanded by Major Sotheby. The Bengal artillery, Captain

Leslie's horse artillery, and the reserve, occupied the centre of the plain, and two guns, under Lieutenant Brett, were detached to the low hills on the left. The 3rd cavalry were drawn up fronting the road. I took my station in front of the treasure, on a slight elevation commanding a very good view of the whole. The enemy were occasionally firing matchlocks and juzzaels at any individuals who advanced within probable range. About half-past seven A. M. Lieutenant Brett opened a fire upon the bluff point, with shrapnel, and Captain Leslie, upon the low hills in front, where the cavalry were showing themselves. The shot at first were a little too low, but this being corrected, they fell in among them with full effect, and we could see them running about in evident confusion. Under cover of Lieutenant Brett's guns, a party of European and native troops, under Major Simmonds, H. M. 41st regiment, advancing up the low hills on the left, crossed the ravines, and gradually and steadily gained the height. Towards the summit they were obliged to make a circuit, and were hidden from our sight below for a few minutes, during which time there was a very sharp fire of musketry and matchlocks. It was a moment of intense anxiety. At

length I heard a loud cheer, and an instant after some heads appeared above the height, and my hamaul shouted that they were our people. "Thank God for that!" I exclaimed, giving vent to breathless anxiety, and immediately after, I saw the enemy scrambling down the almost precipitous face of the hill, followed by the Europeans and sepoys, firing at them wherever they could get a shot. Had the cavalry at this moment charged round or over the low hills in front, they would have met them coming down the steep face of the hill, and their loss must have been great. But a cloud of dust, raised by the advance of Major Cochrane's party, rendered it, I imagine, not easy to ascertain the precise state of things; and the cavalry, consequently, had no orders to advance till their opportunity was lost, and the greater part escaped, though some were cut down. Major Cochrane, H. M. 41st regiment, had been sent with a party towards the left, and Captain Woodburn, 25th regiment N. I., to the right of the hill where the flags were flying, just about the time that Major Simmonds' party was supposed to have crowned the height.

It was expected that, as before, the principal

struggle would have been at this point; but seeing the higher hill in our possession, their people flying, and two parties advancing upon them, they seemed to be seized with a panic, and precipitately abandoned their position, scarcely firing a shot except during the advance of our troops, and leaving their two flags, one of which was obtained by the light company of the 8th regiment, N. I., commanded by my friend Steuart. As these two parties approached the hill, the doolies followed to receive the wounded, and I followed the doolies; but when I saw the hill crowned, the green flag of the Prophet torn down, and "the flag that braved a thousand years the battle and the breeze" flying in its place, I could contain no longer: my eyes filled with tears of joy, and, setting spurs to my horse, I flew up the side of the hill, and was among the assailants, congratulating and shaking hands, within five minutes of the enemy's quitting it.

The defence which the enemy had thrown up was a very trifling affair; my horse stepped over it without difficulty or hesitation, it could scarcely have afforded cover for a man lying down. One could not survey the hill without wondering that such a slaughter could have

taken place before it, or without perceiving that the point of attack selected, on the 18th of March, was the only one that presented any difficulty. The field was now our own; the enemy were flying in all directions; the various heights, commanding the Pass, were rapidly crowned by our troops, and the camels and baggage passed on in perfect security; only small parties of Affghans were seen on very distant heights far out of range, and by nine o'clock A.M., an hour and a half from its commencement, the whole business was terminated.

Thus ended the second affair of Hykulzye, a great contrast to the former, and though I am constrained to confess that at the first instant of excitement I shared in the general feeling of disappointment that the enemy had fled so precipitately, and with powers for future mischief so little impaired, this soon gave place to emotions of grateful thanksgiving that God had so graciously answered our prayers, and given us the victory with so trifling injury and no loss.

Lieutenant Ashburner, 3rd cavalry, was engaged in a personal struggle with a powerful Affghan, and received nine wounds, some of them very severe; happily they did not prove

dangerous, and during our stay in Kandahar he perfectly recovered. The ferocity of these men, when brought to bay, is surprising. Mr. Ashburner, two Europeans, and, I think, six natives wounded, none of them dangerously, constituted all the casualties on our side. The numbers and loss of the enemy, it seems impossible to estimate with any accuracy. They were not probably above fifteen hundred, if so many, and their loss could not have exceeded thirty. And here I may remark, with regard to actions in this country in general, that very little dependence is to be placed on the statements put forth as to the enemy's loss. That they spare no exertions to carry off their dead is undeniable; and the knowledge of this fact seems to give each one a license to estimate the loss at what he thinks probable: certain it is, that very few bodies are generally found; and they so constantly take up their position in passes where they have the cover of rocks or large stones, commence their retreat in such exceedingly good time, and are so perfectly acquainted with every nullah and ravine which may afford them means of escape, that I am inclined to think their loss is generally less than is supposed.

As I went through the Pass, I saw a little crowd on the left hand, and supposing one of our people might be hurt, rode up to ascertain, but found they were standing round the body of an Affghan. He was an old man, but hale and powerful; his bushy beard had been dyed a yellowish red, after their fashion, but was now, poor fellow! dyed with his own blood. He had been overtaken by the troopers of the horse artillery, one of whom he had wounded with a spear, and so tenaciously did he grasp this weapon, that even when mortally wounded, a strong European had great difficulty in wrenching it from his grasp. He was shot through the head, and bayoneted, or run through the body with a sword. The overtaking and killing of this man I had seen from the top of the hill, though I did not exactly know what was going on. An expression of pity, which I uttered over him, was received by the surrounding crowd with high disdain, and I rode away lamenting the vindictive feelings which in this unhappy contest had been more than ordinarily excited by the treachery and cruelty of the enemy. They appear to have quite the characteristics of wild animals; they will not engage with an equal opponent if it can be avoided, but pounce

on a defenceless man like tigers; when assailed they will retire if practicable, otherwise they turn on their pursuers with the utmost ferocity, and sell their lives as dearly as possible.

A man on the high hill, being overtaken, threw himself, sword in hand, upon the bayonets, and though he was killed instantly, succeeded in wounding a soldier of the 41st regiment in the neck; another who had concealed himself in a nullah, being discovered, rushed upon a soldier, who received him on his bayonet, yet even with the bayonet in his chest, wrenched the musket from his assailant, and would have cut him down, had he not been shot by a sepoy.

This was the first time I had ever seen weapons used for the destruction of human beings, and, in looking back, I was not a little astonished to find my feelings and emotions so different from what I should have anticipated. If any one had asked me, when on a quiet curacy in England, how I expected to feel under such circumstances, my reliance on my own heroism was so small, that I should certainly have expressed my wish to be anywhere else than amidst such a scene. I was not, however, now sensible of any such feeling; on the contrary, I had a strong desire to press forward and see

the worst"; a desire, by-the-bye, which was afterwards accomplished in a more considerable affair. And since neither in youth nor manhood, have I ever been remarkable for ferocity, I conclude that man must be naturally a fighting animal, and the cowards the exceptions to the rule. I can well imagine a person having many uncomfortable sensations in the *prospect* and *preparation* for a battle, but I cannot conceive of his having much thought of self or of fear, when the action commences. I am the more confirmed in this opinion, from observing that all around me seemed to share my sensations, amongst whom were, several young lads, just arrived from England, and on their way to join their regiments, who of course were as unacquainted with such scenes as myself.

We encamped near the considerable village of Hykulzye, which was entirely deserted by its inhabitants, who had taken to the hills. It was melancholy to see fine fields of growing wheat, the hope of the year, trampled down and devoured by thousands of camels, horses, tattoos, and bullocks. But such are the miseries of war. It was absolutely necessary that our cattle should subsist, and if the invaders had been disposed to pay for what they

took, there was no one to receive it. In the course of the day the town was plundered by the camp followers, and set on fire in several places. It blazed through the night—a dismal and revolting spectacle; and when we passed through it the next morning, was a heap of mud walls and mouldering ruins.

In the evening I had the melancholy satisfaction of committing to a decent grave, with the rites of christian sepulture, the mangled remains of those who had fallen on Easter Monday, March 28. They had been lying exactly a month, abandoned by the enemy to the jackals, pariar dogs, and kites. It was a humiliating sight, indeed! Portions of eighteen bodies had been collected; many of the skeletons were still tolerably perfect, the skin being dried upon the bones; and some were recognized by their comrades, by the colour of their hair and other marks, one, by a wound in the arm received in the Burmese war. Captain May was discovered by his profusion of fair hair. I scarcely know any lesson on the frailty of man, that has more impressed me than the sight of these poor remains. But little more than a month before, I had seen them in all the vigour of life, many of them so young that they seemed like

blooming boys; and then to look at the blackened, sun-dried, and half-devoured skeletons before me! Could they be the same? Surely that sentence in the Burial Service must have told on every one's heart as it did on mine,—"Man that is born of a woman hath but a short time to live, and is full of misery; he cometh up, and is cut down like a flower: he fleeth as it were a shadow, and never continueth in one stay." The whole of H. M. 41st regiment, who were off duty, were present, and a great number of officers. Thus ended this most exciting day.

On the 29th, we marched from Hykulzye, through the smoky remains of the town, to the north bank of the Lora River, seven miles. The hills were most singularly grouped to the right and in front, small, pointed, all alike, and succeeding each other regularly, like the waves of the sea. To the immediate right and left of the road the country was intersected by deep nullahs, with perpendicular banks like walls, much resembling the banks of the Indus, and evidently caused by the action of water percolated through the loamy soil, and undermining it. The Lora River flows at the bottom of a deep ravine, the descent through which, precipitous on the outer side, only al-

lowed the camels to proceed singly, and caused great delay in getting up the baggage, and passing the guns.

30th March. From the Lora to Killa ab Doolah, eleven miles. A fine road, richly cultivated on both sides, with no impediment the whole way. Though the irrigation had been much neglected, the barley was still very fine, and much of it in ear. As we did not expect to find much forage for the two or three following days, all hands were employed on the line of march, in cutting the green wheat and barley, and loading bullocks, tattoos, and asses. A kind of farm-house on the left, and a village on the right of the road, were fired by our people, and sent up volumes of smoke and flame. At about the middle of our march was a large mound, natural I suppose, like some of the immense tumuli in the west of England. I rode to the top of it, and found that it had been used as a burial place; it was covered with little heaps of stones, the common Mussulman tombs.

Parties of the enemy were hanging on our rear to-day, three of whom were killed by the troopers of the 3rd cavalry, but they cut down several of our followers, and amongst them, I fear, a poor camel man, who had charge of

a government camel, furnished to me. At least, he was never heard of afterwards, and I conclude must have perished, for, being an Hindostanee, he could not have deserted with safety. He was rather unwell, and I fear must have lagged behind and gone to sleep. I was much distressed on his account. The apathy of the natives, and the reckless manner in which they stray and expose themselves to danger, would be incredible to those who have not witnessed it.

The sun was exceedingly hot, and the dust distressing in the extreme; indeed, for some days, we had always, about twelve at noon, a stiff breeze, which lasted till evening, raising clouds of dust. We were told that this is an almost daily occurrence during the hot weather in this country. We encamped in a beautiful plain, having the Khojuk Range to the north, in front, and Killa ab Doolah, a neat fort, about one mile and a half to the left. Saloo Khan, who resided here, and who, with Mahomed Sadik, Ex-Nawab of Kwettah, had been opposing us at Hykulzye, on Thursday, had sent in to offer his submission, and many were the conjectures as to whether he would be received, or whether Killa ab Doo-

lah would be destroyed as Hykulzye had been; but the evening passed off quietly, and the fort was spared.

It is distressing to reflect that the poor cultivators, who have but little interest in the quarrel, are the great sufferers. Their standing crops destroyed, and villages burnt, they have a fearful prospect for the coming year. The state of this country appeared to me strikingly and literally illustrative of a passage in the Book of Judges, which I met with in course of scripture reading, and which present circumstances rendered peculiarly impressive. Judges vi. 2—5: "And the hand of Midian prevailed against Israel, and because of the Midianites the children of Israel made them the *dens* which are in the mountains, and caves, and strongholds."—Often have I watched at night the flitting lights in these "dens and strongholds," in the rocky mountains around Kwettah.—"And so it was, *when Israel had sown*, that the Midianites came up, and the Amalekites, and the children of the East, even they came up against them. And they encamped against them, *and destroyed the increase of the earth* . . . for they came up *with their cattle and their tents*, and they came as grass-

hoppers, for multitude, for both *they and their camels* were without number, and they entered into the land to destroy it."

It is difficult, nay impossible, to those who have not witnessed it, to conceive the sudden and total desolation caused by the passing of an Eastern armament, in which the cattle and followers are generally in the proportion of four or five to one of the fighting men. It may truly be said, "The land is as the garden of Eden before them, and behind them a desolate wilderness."

Sunday, May 1. May-day! A delightful festival at home, recalling to us poor exiles many a pleasing recollection of garlands, spring flowers, and village children, in the green glens of England; and happily though so far distant, a day of rejoicing also to us. Our halt gave us a comfortable night, without the necessity of rising in the middle of the season of rest; and we had an opportunity of uniting in prayer and praise to the Author of all our mercies, some in the morning at eleven o'clock, in the mess-tent of H. M. 41st regiment, and all in the evening in the open air, where the European troops were drawn up in square. This plan of assembling the troops in the evening allowed them an extra nap in the

morning, which they much needed, for there was no way of collecting them but in the open air, and they must have been roused up very early, on account of the heat. In the sermon to the men, I took occasion to allude to the events of the past week, the gratitude due for the success which God had given us, and the solemn and humiliating thoughts suggested by the sight of the poor mangled remains of their late comrades. There were some voluntary attendants from among the Romanists, and all were exceedingly attentive.

In the middle of the day a Cossid arrived with a note from Brigadier Wymer, announcing that his brigade, from Kandahar, was on the other side of the Khojuk, and ready to co-operate with us on the morrow. The pleasure afforded by this good news was further increased by our hearing that Sir R. Sale had obtained a victory over Achbar Khan, at Jellalabad, and retaken four of the guns captured by the enemy at Kabul. Shots were firing around at intervals during the day, parties of the enemy's horse were seen hovering on the hills, and rumour was very rife through the lines, as to the degree of opposition we might expect to encounter to-morrow. The water

at Killa ab Doolah was deliciously clear and good.

Monday, May 2. The "General" sounded at one A. M., the "Assembly" at three A. M., but some of the troops having mistaken the road, it was four o'clock before we got fairly on our way. As the day broke, and we advanced into the Pass, we could distinguish small bodies of Affghans scattered on the various peaks, and, strong parties being sent to crown the heights on the right and left, we soon heard a smart fire among the hills, which was kept up in rear, at intervals, during the day; but the heights immediately overlooking the Pass being secured by our people, they could do no harm to the column or the baggage. It was dreadfully fagging work to the flanking parties, for the ascents were in many places so steep as to be scarcely accessible. The enemy made no stand, rapidly retreating from hill to hill, and keeping so far out of range, that with all their fire they but slightly wounded two of our people, and lost but two of their own.

The Pass was exceedingly pretty, having a great deal more verdure on the hills than I had seen anywhere in Sinde. There were many fine trees, and their fresh green foliage, with

the bold forms of the rocky heights beyond, and the green turf in the foreground, strongly reminded me of some parts of the north of England, though on a much larger scale. As we proceeded, the hills approached each other, and the path narrowed, until the camels began to get jammed into a dense mass, and seeing little prospect of a passage for some time, I sat down under the cool shade of a high rock, and made a very comfortable breakfast on cold beef and hard-boiled eggs. I then contrived to wind my way through strings and strings of camels, till I came in sight of the steep ascent of the Pass. Here I saw the heights in front crowned by troops, which, from the distance, could not be ours. I soon ascertained that they were a part of Brigadier Wymer's force, which had been sent to meet us from Kandahar, and in securing those heights in the morning, their work had been much sharper than ours. They had two men killed and some wounded, and had killed about twenty-five of the enemy.

It is difficult to credit all that one hears about the superior marskmanship of these people. I can imagine, that well screened behind a rock, with a rest for their piece, and a fixed mark, they may hit at considerable

distances; but when compelled to move, as in following an enemy, or retreating from height to height, they appear to do very little execution, with a great expenditure of ammunition.

The Pass, at the place where the steep ascent commences, turns to the left; there are two roads up which, generally speaking, the camels are compelled to pass singly: these roads have a steep ascent and descent, and then rising again, unite at the top of a ridge, where is a little table-land. Over the ridge, to the left of the spot where these roads unite, or almost unite, so that you can pass from one to the other, there is, in a deep hollow between two hills, a spring of delicious water, which trickles from one little basin of stone to another, in a most pearly and limpid stream, which strongly reminded me of the gushing rills of Lancashire and Yorkshire. From the top of the ridge two roads branch off, uniting again before they emerge into the plain; one of these was reserved for the guns, which were dragged by manual labour; both were very narrow and exceedingly steep, indeed almost precipitous, and many camels and some bullocks fell under their loads, and encumbered the Pass with their dead bodies.

At the top of this ridge I found a detachment of the 25th regiment, N. I., with Major Teasdale, and several other officers, surrounding a doolie, well supplied with cold beef, tongue, &c. It was now tiffin time, and I did not fail to avail myself of their hospitable invitation to join them. Here I remained for a long time, hoping, amongst the interminable strings of camels, to see something of my own; but I gazed in vain.

The views on both sides of the ridge were very bold and beautiful. While here, a sepoy of the 25th regiment brought in a prisoner, whom he had intercepted in a mountain path, and who afterwards turned out to be a Cossid in the employ of Captain Hamersley at Kwettah. He was a stout lad, of about eighteen, with coarse features, mounted on a good grey pony, and well armed. The European soldiers, finding his matchlock with a musket lock upon it, proclaimed it, at once, one of the spoils of Hykulzye, and spoke of nothing less than hanging for the poor boy. Having better hopes for him, I was amused to see him sitting pinioned on the ground, surrounded by the men, overwhelming him with questions in English, to which he responded in Pushtoo, much to their edification.

Despairing of seeing anything of my camels, among such a mass, I rode on with Lieutenant Forbes, of the 3rd light cavalry, down the road which the guns had traversed. Proceeding between two lines of hills, I at length, about five P. M., arrived at the camp, having been on the road more than twelve hours. Several of the officers and men, on rear-guard, and crowning the heights, were twenty-four hours on duty, and this under a burning sun. For the poor camels it was a dreadful day; mine were twenty hours under their loads, and that on a very steep inclined plain; for as they could only pass singly, their progress was very slow; many failed altogether, and their loads were left on the road. I saw a very fine bullock, with a couple of trunks, lose his footing and roll down the steep: he broke his leg and was obliged to be shot.

As we emerged from the pass, we saw the Bengal camp on some low hills, and a few of our own tents being pitched, I made my way to the 3rd cavalry lines, and fortunately found the mess-tent up. I threw myself on the ground, under its shade, and slept soundly till dinner-time, for I was exceedingly fatigued, and after dinner made my way, half

asleep, to my quarters. Happily the camels were there. I made my servants hastily pitch the tent, and prepare the bed, and leaving everything else as it was, threw myself upon it, and slept uninterruptedly till broad daylight. Such was the passage of the Khojuk.

We were very glad of a halt on the following day, for the sake of the cattle as well as ourselves, and found leisure to view the troops of the sister Presidency. The Bengal sepoys are very fine men, much taller and larger limbed than those of Bombay; and the Shah's irregular cavalry, in their crimson dresses, were remarkably showy and picturesque. Their horses were in very fair condition, though it was said that during the winter they had been almost starved, and had only improved in condition since they got the green lucerne as forage. The thermometer was now about ninety-four degrees, at noon, in tents. The mornings were still, but about twelve at noon the wind became exceedingly boisterous, with clouds of dust, and so continued till about five P. M. The nights were cool and pleasant.

The water is procured here in a singular manner. A low piece of ground, between two hills, is covered with turf, but no water is to

be seen; if, however, a small pit be dug, a few inches deep, it will fill with water; and when emptied speedily fills again; so that in due time a sufficiency may be obtained. It is wholesome, but, from the way in which it is obtained, very thick, and must stand some time before it can be used.

I observed very few wild animals, insects, or reptiles, between Kwettah and this spot, nor did I hear a single jackall. There are a few small lizards, and the most common insect is a black flying beetle, larger than a cock-chafer; they have horny heads, and burrow in the ground. I was much amused on the Khojuk Pass, by observing the attempts of one of them to roll up-hill a piece of dried horse-dung, about five times his own size and weight. The muscular power he displayed was very great, getting on the lower side, and standing on his hind legs, while he pushed it with his fore legs like hands; but, alas! poor fellow, when he had raised it a few inches, like the stone of Sisyphus, it rolled back upon him, carrying him away with it; and after many an unsuccessful attempt, I left him still persevering in his apparently fruitless endeavour.

Wednesday, the 4th. Dined at three, P. M., and at half-past five P. M. set out from Chum-

mun on a night march of twenty-five miles, to Kolgie, the first spot from hence where water is to be found. I rode with the 3rd cavalry, who formed the advance; the road lay across a flat plain. Some little confusion was occasioned at first, by the baggage closing in on both flanks of the cavalry, so that a halt was ordered till it could be removed to the reverse flank. During this halt the scene was very imposing. In the extreme background were the heights of the Khojuk range, upon which the enemy's watch-fires were just beginning to twinkle. In the foreground, amidst clumps of bushes, were the general and his staff, surrounded by the picturesque dresses, taper spears, and quivering pennons of the Shah's cavalry and Skinner's horse, and the neat and elegant light grey uniform of our own cavalry. The intermediate space was occupied by a dense mass of thousands of camels, with every kind of load, and in every imaginable variety of attitude and position; camp followers of every description; horsemen galloping to and fro on the flank; and the evening breeze wafted the din of human voices in various tongues, the sounds of dogs, bullocks, camels, and asses, all mingling together in a confused hubbub. Amongst other

objects, adding to the effect of the scene, was a troop of retainers of a son of Guddoo Khan, who had fallen in our service, between Ghuznee and Khelat-i-ghilgie, "faithful found among the faithless." These men were well mounted, and handsomely dressed, and by the variety of their costume relieved the masses of cavalry; the chief himself, in crimson and silver, with a large white puggeree, was mounted on a stout Herat horse, the bridle and head-gear of which were richly decorated with silver scales, manufactured, he told us, at Kandahar. He was a fine-looking, middle-aged man, with a jet black beard, and piercing dark eyes. Between the horse's ears was fixed a little apparatus of silver, like the small candlestick used for sealing letters. This, he said, was to hold a light; I suppose to ignite the match of his matchlock in war, and his pipe in peace. No. one who has not witnessed it, can conceive the unique and picturesque appearance of the line of march of an Indian army. The masses of men and animals strongly reminded me at this moment of Danby's splendid painting of the passage of the Red Sea. As we moved slowly on, it grew dark or rather starlight, and I became very sleepy. A halt was sounded, that the rear

might close up, and I dismounted, wrapped myself in my cloak, lay on the ground, and had an hour's sound sleep. Happily, man is so constituted, that he speedily adapts himself to change of circumstances! I thought neither of rheumatism, fever, nor snakes, all of which would probably have troubled my mind a few months ago. On we went again.

I was riding with a party of the cavalry officers, and one of them was singing "The Misseltoe Bough" for the general entertainment, when flash went a matchlock, with its sharp report, from some jungle on the right. Here again the force of habit was observable. We had been so constantly fired at, more or less, since our leaving Kwettah, that it excited but little attention; some one remarked that he supposed the fellow considered himself a hero, but the song was not interrupted for a moment. Another halt, and a doolie was brought up, containing cold beef, tongue, &c. The servants made a little fire—it was about two A. M.—and sitting round it in our cloaks, we made such a supper as we could. We were now getting very tired. The day began to dawn. Another halt. Major Waddington, Captain Reeves, and I, lay down with our heads on a hillock, and fell

fast asleep. Up again, and on again. We were tired to death, and looking ghastly. It is not easy to conceive the fatigue of marching such a distance at a foot-pace, deprived of one's natural rest, and barely recovered from the toil of passing the Khojuk. At length we reached our halting-ground, among some fields of green wheat; a joyful sight for the camels and horses, whose supply of food had been very scanty for three days before. Our baggage arrived at the same time with ourselves, and rejoiced indeed was I to get into my tent, having never been more tired in my life. But, alas! rest there was none, for the day turned out the most windy and dusty I have ever known. I was obliged to pass it in perfect inaction. Such were the clouds of dust, that it was impossible to write, for the pen became clogged, and the paper covered every moment. I tried to read, but from the same cause my spectacles became so dimmed that I could not see. I tried to sleep, but such was the irritation produced by the dust and discomfort around, that sleep fled from me notwithstanding my weariness, and I had nothing for it but to sit with a handkerchief over my head, my eyes shut, and "my countenance more in sorrow than in anger." It was

in truth exceedingly depressing; the whole atmosphere was filled with dust, so as to produce the effect of a thick London fog; nothing to be seen above four yards, and the hot wind blowing a hurricane. It did not cease with the setting sun, as all other dust storms I had ever seen had done, but continued through the night, though not with the same violence.

6th. Left Kolgie at four A. M. This morning was as cold as the previous day had been hot; the wind was blowing from the north-east, as piercing as I ever felt it in a winter's day in England. This must surely be trying to the strongest constitution, yet my health continued perfect. The route was over a very good road, and without incident. The dust still continuing, I saw little of the country around till we arrived at Melmundee, twelve miles and a half. Here we encamped, the hills on the left assuming a remarkably bold appearance, in many parts quite perpendicular for some hundreds of feet; our camp was in a hollow on the right side of the valley. There was a rumour that an attack was to be made on the treasure to-day by Sufter Jung, with two thousand horse and three thousand foot, but we saw no trace of any enemy. The water here was good, but deficient in quantity,

and requiring to be drawn up from a depth. There is a well about one third the distance from Kolgie, on the right of the road, and two others about half way. It was in this march that a portion of Lord Keane's army were in great danger of perishing from thirst; they were compelled to proceed to the Doree river, eleven miles farther, where both men and beasts, infuriated by thirst, rushed pell-mell into the water. The water at Kolgie is brackish and bad.

7th. Marched at four A. M. upon Tuht-i-pool, (the wooden bridge,) on the banks of the Dorée; the road was good. It seemed scarcely possible to conceive any other country where one could travel so far and see so little of interest. All was desert; all of one uniform sandy colour, except where artificial irrigation produce here and there a little vegetation. We came to such a spot near the river; the village was deserted and ruined. A multitude threw themselves upon the growing crops, and speedily converted them into forage. A melancholy sight! but such as the cruel necessity of war rendered inevitable, for how otherwise could about four thousand head of various kinds of cattle have subsisted? These scenes so frequently occurring, seemed

to my mind to give peculiar force to that petition of the Litany in which we pray God "to give and preserve,"—"*to our use* the kindly fruits of the earth, so as in due time *we may enjoy them.*" These poor people sow with very little certainty as to who shall enjoy the fruits; and though it may seem fanciful, I cannot but think that this petition was suggested by a somewhat similar state of society in which the frequent civil wars, and inroads of enemies, must have caused sufferings of the same kind. The peculiar beauty and application of these various petitions is little thought of in the uniform course of ordinary life, but circumstances, like passing rays of light and shade over a landscape, throw them out from time to time in a striking and vivid light. Thus, after the catastrophe at Kabul, the petition for "all prisoners and captives," became invested with an interest in my mind which it never possessed before. Arrived in camp, I found Colonel Stacey seated on the ground, with a brother of Saloo Khan, who had come to negotiate terms for him;—a tall man of powerful frame, but beginning to bend from age, with a fine aquiline nose, arched eyebrows, and bushy beard. He was dressed in a large white pug-

geree, or turban, and a loose outer garment of camel hair, with sleeves, called a chogah, beneath which was a cummerband, or girdle of immense folds. The great quantity of clothing which they wrap round the head and person, renders them almost impervious to a *cut* from a sword, but is an insufficient defence against a *thrust* either from sabre or bayonet. In the evening I walked out to look at the river; an immense bed cut into various gullies or channels, and grown over with tamarisk jungle. If it is ever filled, if must be of an enormous width. At present the stream ran under the left bank, of tolerable breadth, and about three feet deep. This morning I killed a small white scorpion in my tent; the only venomous creature I had seen in the country, though others had seen snakes of various kinds. There was some firing in the night on the outlying pickets, but happily no injury done.

Sunday, 8th. We marched at half-past four A. M. to Deh Hajee, eleven miles. Here I first saw the arched roofs, of sun-dried bricks, which necessity has taught the inhabitants to build; the want of wood both for fuel and building purposes being very severely felt. The centering of the arches exhibited consi-

derable skill; the rooms are cool in summer and warm in winter; an immense improvement on the ill-constructed poplar roofs which are found throughout the valley of Shaul. The appearance of a group of houses with these little domes is much like that of a large cluster of bee-hives. Some of them were built around a quadrangle, with a fortified gateway, and planted with rows of mulberry trees. Altogether it was a pleasing contrast to the utter desert through which we had been previously passing. The village was well walled and in good repair, and plentifully supplied with water, both from wells within, and a stream without. Some buildings within seemed to indicate that it had been inhabited by persons of consideration, but it was now utterly deserted and empty. On our road we passed two heaps of stone, in a burial place to the right, which I was told were the tombs of Lylee and Mujnoon, two lovers famed in Persian story.

Captain Leslie, of the horse artillery, had taken up his quarters in a large vaulted building, which he kindly offered for divine service, a purpose for which it was exceedingly well adapted; but it alarmed the sensitive nerves of a political agent in camp, lest it

might be a sacred building, and our reading prayers there *might* offend the religious prejudices of the natives, though not one was to be seen, the place being entirely deserted: so the general was prevailed upon to countermand the order, and we betook ourselves to the hot mess-tent, which would not hold half the number, where I celebrated divine service, and preached from Matt. xxii. 2. It seemed ludicrous enough, after defeating and killing the men, burning their villages, and plundering their fields, to show such extreme consideration for their *feelings* in a deserted village, where not one of them was to be found. It reminded me strongly of old Isaak Walton's directions for preparing a frog for a bait, "as though you loved him," in his "Complete Angler."

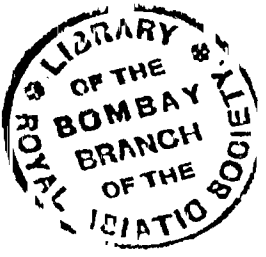
Between Kurachee and this spot I hadseen buildings about which there could be no doubt that they were musjids, used as traveller's bungalows, private houses and hospitals, where every Mussulman's abomination, such as grilling pork, drinking brandy, pawnee, wine, &c., was practised without scruple; it seemed that the only case in which their feelings were to be consulted, was when it was proposed to worship God. A straw, or any trifle, will

serve to show which way the wind blows, and a trifle like this may exemplify the kind of nonsense for which, under the name of political wisdom, the government has in many instances paid so largely in these countries.

9th. Marched from Deh Hajee to Khoosh-ab, fourteen miles. After passing a deserted village, we came to one which, as well as Khoosh-ab, was friendly to us; it was consequently protected, and we encamped among wheat fields, in a fine open valley, in full view of Kandahar, an object upon which we gazed with no little satisfaction. The valley is large and richly cultivated, bounded by bold rocky hills, one of which is called the Bullock's Hump from its resemblance in form to the hump of the Indian bullock, rising abruptly out of the valley, shelving on the right side, and overhanging on the left. The village of Khoosh-ab presented the same beehive-like appearance as Deh Hajee. The manner of preparing the mud for these sun-dried bricks fully explains the harshness and tyranny of compelling the Jews to make bricks without straw. (Exodus v.) The mud is brought to a proper consistency in a pit; they then strew over it a quantity of bhoosa, i. e. straw chopped in pieces, about an inch

in length; this is well trodden and mixed, by the feet of the work-people. Without the bhoosa the bricks are little worth, being deficient in adhesiveness: it serves, in fact, the same purpose as the chopped hair in English mortar.

On the following day (10th) we marched from Khoosh-ab to Kandahar, six miles, and encamped near the Kabul gate. My residence in Kandahar may furnish matter for another chapter.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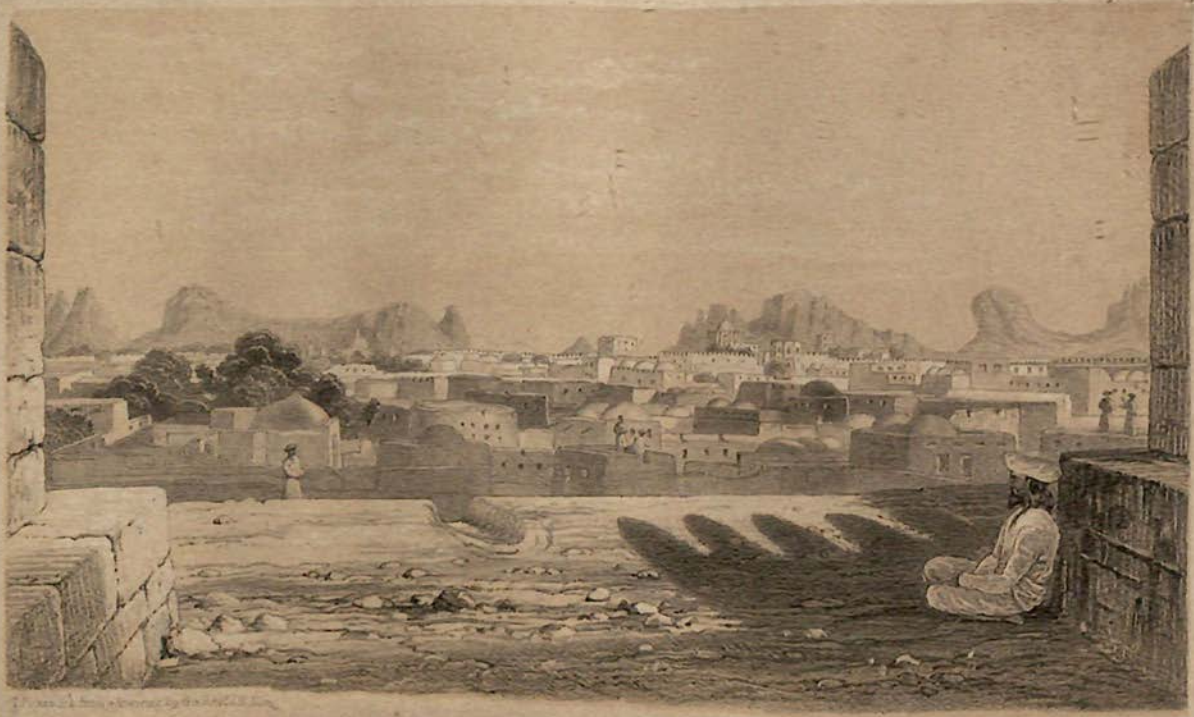
CHAPTER VII.

KANDAHAR.

On my arrival at Kandahar, I went by invitation to the mess of H. M. 40th regiment, on account of which corps principally I had been directed to proceed thither, and there commenced an acquaintance with the officers which I shall ever recollect with the liveliest emotions of gratification. I had heard much before, of the estimation in which they were held at every station where they had been, for their social virtues; and no one who has read anything of the exploits of the British army, will need to be told of their gallantry in the field. I have been with them both in action, and in their social hours; I have admired them in the former, and have found in the latter, so much real kindness, friendship, and attention, as will endear the corps to me



while memory remains. I found them in comfortable barracks, which had been originally built for Shah Soojah's troops. Our arrival was hailed with great delight, as we brought with us several camel loads of letters and newspapers, the garrison having been entirely cut off from communication during the whole winter up to the period of our arrival, and an accumulation of all their letters during that period having taken place at Kwettah, between which and Kandahar only the smallest notes could pass, conveyed by Cossids at the hazard of their lives, many of whom were sacrificed. The garrison had been subjected to great privations; the expense of feeding their cattle was enormous; and the price of every article that could be procured for money extravagant. They had been again and again employed in the field, and that without tents, in the depth of winter. I am persuaded that their privations and exploits were by no means fully appreciated, for owing to the exceeding brevity of General Nott's despatches, they had not the advantage of having them made known to the world.

As my house was in the town, about a mile off, it was not till we marched that I became

entirely domesticated with them, and fully aware of their estimable qualities, though I used frequently to ride over and visit them.

We were delighted to find that Kandahar furnished abundance of lettuces, and other fresh vegetables, from which we found much benefit, having been for a long time living almost entirely on animal food.

H. M. 40th, and the 2nd and 16th regiment Bengal N. I., were in the shah's barracks, the cantonment as it was called; the rest in the town, from which General Nott had expelled all the armed inhabitants; a highly prudential measure, for so vindictive at that period were their feelings, that, on the day we arrived, they cut down and murdered an unfortunate bheestie of the light battalion, within a few hundred yards of camp. After remaining four days in camp, I was quartered by General Nott's orders, in a house in the town, belonging to a native horse-dealer, but on arrival, found it in possession of some Affghans, who were not at all disposed to remove; it was dusk in the evening, and after much altercation I made my people clear out a room, and took up my abode with them on the premises. I made several applications to the police magistrate,

either to give me possession, or find me another house; at length, on the third day, having been out, I found myself on returning in quiet possession, and ascertained from my servants the reason why they had been so tenacious. It appears that I had come upon them rather suddenly, and taken up my abode in the room where their treasure was buried; they were watching their opportunity, and seeing me go out on horseback, the owner had gone into the room, and dug from beneath the threshold, and from the mud wall, a quantity of gold and silver, and several rings, &c., on which the family departed contentedly to a smaller house in the neighbourhood. The occurrence was an evident indication of the unsettled condition of the country, and the contrivances to which a lawless and unsafe state of society had driven its inhabitants. The places of deposit were so carefully hidden, that none but those who had made could find them. I had frequently before seen these little holes open in the walls of the empty houses into which I had gone, but had no conception of their meaning.

A description of this house, in which I lived about three months, may serve to give

a general idea of domestic architecture at Kandahar. The gate opened from a narrow lane, and led into a courtyard, one side of which was occupied by a stable, large and vaulted, a small enclosure, with an eadgar or niche for praying, and a small room for a fakeer; a door in the wall to the left led to an inner court, and immediately on the opposite side was the dwelling-house; it consisted of three parallel rooms, opening into each other *en suite*, the front of each about fourteen feet, the depth about twenty feet. The centre room was open in front, and presented to the court a lofty gothic arch; the roofs of all three were groined and vaulted like the roof of a gothic church, and very accurately and beautifully finished. Two had fire-places, precisely like the gothic niches for the images of saints in our cathedrals, and the walls were very tastefully ornamented by a process which I saw here for the first time; they were plastered with chunam, (a white cement,) and stamped while wet with carved figures of wreaths and flowers in very pleasing patterns; the whole was covered with a preparation of talck, which gave it a glittering and dazzling appearance; the effect was exceedingly pretty. The right of the court was occupied by the

kitchen, with bed-rooms above, to which there was an ascent by a staircase under an archway, conducting also to the roof of the dwelling house, which was finished in the bee-hive form before described. The centre of the court was occupied by a well of delicious water, and one corner by a luxuriant vine, trained over a framework of poles; the whole was of sun-dried brick, having no woodwork except the doors and door-posts: and the manner in which the doors were panelled out of very small pieces, showed the scarceness of the material. Such, varying in size and ornament, according to the wealth and rank of the owner, are the houses in Kandahar. Those of the chiefs have the gateways embattled and fortified, the courts much larger, and often prettily planted and laid out, and supplied with streams of water; but their general plan is similar to that I have described, and the open vaulted building in the centre is, I think, universal. Many have Tuhkhanas, rooms either wholly or partly sunk in the ground, sometimes as large and lofty as those above, to which the occupants retire during the day in the hot season. Their coolness is very refreshing to those who remain in them the whole day, but rather dangerous to occasional visitors, from

the sudden change of temperature from the external atmosphere on entering them. Many of the officers who have resided in Kandahar since 1839, have furnished their houses with glass windows, which is a great improvement in point of comfort; but the delicate lattice-work which supplies its place in the windows of the natives is very ornamental.

Being suddenly transferred from a very small tent to a tolerably-sized house, I greatly felt the want of furniture, and necessity prompted many inventions, of which I will give one specimen. I had with me but one little table, and being no longer a member of a regimental mess, exceedingly wanted another at which two or three friends could dine with me, a convenience nowhere to be had; at one time I thought of building a kind of brick altar, but at length hit upon the expedient of driving into the earthen floor four stakes at proper distances, cutting them off at the height of a table, and taking from their posts the doors of the outer court, which were not there required, and fixing them on these stakes. They were rather rough and uneven, but covered with a thick Persian carpet to hide inequalities, formed a very tolerable table, at which I have enjoyed many

little parties, much more agreeable in remembrance, than others with more convenient apparatus.

The city of Kandahar has been frequently described, and by none better or more correctly, than by one who, I believe, never saw it, the Honourable Mr. Elphinstone, whose book, when his means of information are considered, is a wonderful work indeed. As some, however, who read these pages, may not have his or any other description at hand, I may as well give a brief sketch of my own. The walls enclose the whole of the city, for it has no suḥurb; they form a rough oblong figure, the sides of which are nearly towards the four cardinal points; the sides are by no means right lines; in fact, the western wall forms, from its extreme points, a very obtuse angle, the apex of which is to the northward of the centre. The following are stated to be their dimensions, the circumference of the ramparts three miles and one thousand and six yards, of which the western wall is one thousand nine hundred and sixty-seven yards, the eastern one thousand eight hundred and ten yards, the southern one thousand three hundred and forty-five yards, the northern one thousand one hundred and sixty-four yards;

the wall has a fausse-braye rather in a decayed state, and is surrounded by a dry ditch, which may average eight yards in width; its depth varies considerably in different parts; on the east side it is very formidable, perhaps ten yards deep; in some parts of the south side, not more than the same number of feet. The wall is about seven yards thick at the bottom, about five at the top; it has bastions at regular distances, with numerous loopholes for small arms, and embrasures for guns, but there were only two native brass six-pounders on the rampart when I was there.

It has six gates, one in the centre of each of the walls; west, the Herat Gate; east, the Kabul Gate; south, the Shikarpore Gate; north the Eadgar Gate; these are the principal, but to the north of the Herat Gate is the Tope Khana Gate, so called, from its leading to the Artillery Park; and to the north of the Kabul Gate is the Berdouranee Gate. When I was at Kandahar, the Herat and Berdouranee Gates were bricked up, the former on account of the burning of the gate at the attack which I have already mentioned.

The Eadgar Gate belongs exclusively to the citadel, or Bala Hissar, a large square, walled and battlemented, and connected by two cur-

tains, with the walls and ramparts of the town: it contains the gardens and buildings of what has been a very handsome palace, has a ditch around it, and against native means, would be capable of an obstinate defence. In the centre of the town is a large octagonal building with a lofty dome called the Char-soo, or four ways; from this run four wide bazaars, parallel to the walls, one to the Shikarpore Gate, one to the Kabul Gate, one to the Herat Gate, and the other into a large square fronting the citadel, which is the Tope Khana. Here were several native guns, mostly brass, old, and on very clumsy unwieldy carriages; as well as a good proportion of six and nine-pounders of our own, and two eighteen-pounders, to which, when the garrison of Khelat-i-Ghilgie was withdrawn, two others were added. A rampart about ten or twelve feet in width ran all round the wall, and formed our morning and evening walk, as walking outside, or even riding to any distance, was by no means safe. This rampart commanded a complete view both of the country and the city; the environs must at one time have been exceedingly pretty, but numbers of trees had been felled, to prevent their affording cover to the enemy; there were still, however, some very extensive and

flourishing gardens, particularly one near the south-west angle, belonging to the political agent, and one on the north-east, surrounding a tomb, and approached by a broad avenue. The burial-grounds around the city to the north are very extensive, and abound in head-stones of white marble, beautifully sculptured with flowered borders, and passages from the Koran. To the northward of these burial-grounds, is a wide stony plain, used as a parade-ground and race-course, bounded by lofty rocky hills. To the west, the hills are peculiarly bold and fantastic in form; between them and the town were the cantonments of H. M. 40th, and the 2nd and 16th regiments N. I., near which stood a conical hill which served as a look out; beyond was the Bullock's Hump, and under it the Baba Wullee Pass, to the south of which rose a range of rocky mountains, some like pinnacles and others pyramidical, overlooking the remains of old Kandahar. This must have been a place of much strength, and both the traditions of the Persians, and the conjectures of Europeans, point it out as the Alexandria of Alexander the Great.

It has superseded several other towns; Shah Hussein founded one and called it Hussein-

abad; Nadir Shah attempted again to alter the site of the town, and built Nadirabad. The present city was founded by Ahmed Shah, as late as 1753, but owing to the crumbling, sun-dried material of which it is built, it has already, in many parts, the appearance of decay and ruin.

The country to the east and the south is comparatively flat and open. To the east, west, and south, the plain is very fertile, highly cultivated, and irrigated by canals from the Urghundab River. To the south extends a long range of beautiful gardens and orchards, which I often gazed upon and longed to visit, but it was utterly unsafe to venture so far without a very strong escort.

If, in our morning walks, we turned our attention to the town, it presented many interesting objects. The inhabitants, in times of peace, have been reckoned at 50,000; when I was there the population must have been much less, as many parts were uninhabited. Still, however, there were a considerable number of people, and their various occupations on the tops of their flat-roofed houses, frequently arrested my attention, and brought scriptural scenes to my recollection. I have often been reminded by a venerable man with long beard and flow-

ing garments prostrate in prayer on the top of his house, of St. Peter's vision on the housetop at Joppa. The quadrangular courts within the houses, and the parapets of the flat-roofed buildings around, brought to mind the miraculous cure of the paralytic, and the earnestness and faith of the friends who took him up to the housetop, deterred by no impediments, that they might lower him down and present him before Jesus.

I used to notice a small musjid, where a bed of flowers appeared to be tended with peculiar care, and where almost every morning, I observed a carpet spread, and an old man with two very pretty children in an attitude of devotion, teaching them to chant the Koran in that measured tone which they constantly use. The soft sound of the children's voices in the early morning air, was very soothing. There is certainly something very impressive in the outward appearance of devotion among these people, which, could one lose the conviction of its formality, and the knowledge of its erroneous direction, would be most delightful, and with which the timidity and shame of Christians in the avowal of their faith, and the practice of their devotion, form a most unpleasing contrast. I observed that

here, and elsewhere throughout Affghanistan, the sacred buildings were all decorated with large horns above the entrance, doubtless with the same intention of denoting power and might, with which the like emblem is perpetually employed in Scripture.

The bazaars furnished a continual fund of amusement, in the various costumes, languages, and countenances of the people; Affghans, Persians, Tartars, Hindoostanees, Chinese, &c., being all mingled in the buzz of trade and occupation.

The Char-soo, the large central octagonal building before mentioned, had the spaces between its entrances surrounded by a platform of brick, of about the height of a table, with shelves and shutters against the wall behind it: upon this platform sat the dealers in silks, cloth, linen, &c., and cap-makers. Here were shawls from Kashmere, nankeens from Russia, fabrics from England and China, from all parts of the world in fact, and the dealers measuring out, and exhibiting them to their customers, with all that gesticulation and clamour which ever accompanies native discussions, be the subject what it may. The centre was occupied by a mingled, jabbering crowd of men on foot, irregular horsemen, camel-drivers

with strings of camels, and a few groups of English soldiers here and there, forming altogether a scene perfectly unique.

The four principal streets or bazaars, from which all the others diverge at right angles, are very wide, and occupied by shops of tradesmen; one quarter by the makers of posteens, i. e. long coats of leather, with the hair of the goat as a lining, the stitching of which is often very elaborate and ornamental. I obtained one at Shikarpore, which I found an invaluable protection against the cold during the march through Sinde to Kwettah. Another quarter was devoted to smiths and farriers, others to the sellers of hardware and trinkets, glittering with the mingled wares of St. Petersburg, Birmingham, and Affghanistan; in another, matchlock and sword manufacturers were hard at work, and tinmen, who made various culinary vessels and jugs, some of very classic and elegant forms. Occasionally a savoury waft would turn one's attention to a shop where a little spit was turning, with a long line of kabaubs, and a crowd waiting around for their share when the cooking was complete. There were also Hummums, (baths,) where shampooing was said to be practised in the highest style of the art, but I never could

persuade myself that these public baths were clean, and, therefore, knew nothing of them but the outside.

The groups of men in these bazaars were not less amusing than the shops. In one place were to be seen a circle squatted on the ground around an improvisatore, either poet or story-teller, reciting his productions at the top of his voice, and accompanying the recital with violent gesticulations, his auditory expressing their approbation as the nature of the subject required, whether grave or gay; others were gathered to hear and tell the news from various parts of the country; some were selling goldfinches, linnets, and other birds in small wicker cages; some riding or running horses up and down, and offering them for sale; and blind beggars were not the least prominent objects. I have understood that the dust and glare to which the eye is so constantly subjected, cause many cases of ophthalmia, which end in blindness. A noisy rout of children mingled with every scene, and I could not but observe the exceeding fairness of many of them, as indeed of the adults also, who were scarcely darker than Europeans. Here and there might be seen a woman, but very closely veiled: their dress is a long garment of white, the veil

drawn round the head-dress near the forehead, and tied at the back of the head; it flows down to the waist, and is of thick white long cloth, with a strip of thin lace worked in across the eyes, like a little window, so as to enable them to see, but entirely to prevent their features from being seen; they walk gracefully, and their long white robes and veils, give them a solemn and nun-like appearance.

In one corner of the Tope Khana is a large mosque, into which groups may be seen entering, or returning from it with grave aspect, throughout the day; and if the stranger is traversing the bazaars at the hours of prayer, he will see many a scene to remind him of the Pharisees, who loved to stand praying at the corners of the streets.

Near the Char-soo is a kind of gallery across the bazaar, looking towards the citadel; it is called the Noubut Khana, and from this, at sunrise and sunset, resounds a most harsh and discordant clamour of trumpets and kettle-drums, which hideous din is, I believe, the peculiar privilege of a royal city.*

I must not omit to notice the singular habit of the pariar dogs of Kandahar, which I have never seen elsewhere. To avoid, as I sup-

* A similar nuisance exists at Kabul.

pose, the extreme heat of the streets during the hot weather, and to enjoy the breeze, they have learned to ascend to the tops of the houses by the different staircases; and so expert are they, that I have seen them on the very summit of the lofty dome of the Char-soo. It is highly amusing to watch their pranks; three or four will occasionally possess themselves of a higher elevation, and obstinately contest the right of any others to come up, and the fights which ensue are often savage in the extreme.

Near the north-west angle of the city is a very handsome tomb, erected to Ahmed Shah, the founder of the Dourannee monarchy. It is octagonal, with minarets; and the lofty dome is beautifully painted in flowered patterns, the colours in such chaste and exquisite keeping, that it was a great relief to the eye when compared with the glare of gay and flaunting colours which the native works generally exhibit. In the interior are to be seen grave persons sitting on their heels at low desks, and before them folio copies of the Koran, from which they chant passages in a shrill, measured tone. They appear very intent, and once in passing apparently the most devotional of the party, I stepped

along the carpet on tip-toe, that I might not disturb him; he was not, however, so wrapt in contemplation but that he paused to ask me for some pice, on receiving which he resumed his occupation with the same energy as before. In former days no one could enter this shrine without putting off his shoes; now, however, we do as we like, and since we take off our hats, which they well know is *our* method of showing respect, they ought not to take offence, we being always content with their putting off their shoes, and never requiring them to uncover the head in showing respect to us or our habitations.

Shortly after our arrival, H. M. 41st regiment was quartered in the town, and on alternate Sunday mornings I celebrated divine service for them and for H. M. 40th. In the afternoon, I had two double-poled tents joined together, and pitched within the citadel, which accommodated the European artillery and a congregation of officers, at first very small, but gradually increased to a considerable number, notwithstanding the heat, which about this time became very great, and continued, with frequent hot winds and dust storms, until the period of our leaving. I see,

by a memorandum made about this time, that the thermometer in the sun stood at one hundred and thirty-seven degrees.

On the 19th of May, a strong brigade under Brigadier Wymer, in which were H. M. 40th, Captain Leslie's troop of horse artillery, Captain Blood's battery, 3rd Bombay light cavalry, the Shah's irregular horse, and the 16th and 38th Bengal native infantry, marched to the relief of the garrison of the Khelat-i-Ghilgie, which, while these troops were marching towards it, was attacked with great ferocity, on the 25th of May, by an immense body of the enemy, and defended with the utmost gallantry by Captain Craigie and his small garrison, who defeated the assailants with great slaughter. A great number of dead were left on the field, and I understood, from information subsequently obtained, that their loss in killed and wounded was not under a thousand. The detaching of this brigade led to an impression, on the part of the enemy, that the garrison of Kandahar was so considerably weakened that an attack on it might be made with effect. The results of this impression will be subsequently seen.

On Trinity Sunday, the 22nd, after an early morning service with H. M. 41st, I designed

to have administered the Holy Communion, of which I had given previous notice; but, unhappily, an alarm was communicated from the cantonments that the enemy were upon them in great force; H. M. 41st was sent out, and in the bustle and excitement I had only two to form my congregation, one of whom was not a communicant, so that I was compelled to postpone its administration to another opportunity. The evening service also was very thinly attended. The alarm, after all, proved to be false. About fifty horsemen were seen, who scampered off as soon as they ascertained that preparation was made for their reception; they were probably a reconnoitring party from a large force which was in the neighbourhood, under Prince Sufter Jung, a son of Shah Soojah, who had escaped from Kandahar and joined them.

On the 27th I accompanied General England and his staff on a visit to Prince Timour Shah, the eldest son of Shah Soojah ool Moolk, and now, by hereditary right, the king of the Doorannee empire. We were introduced by Major Rawlinson, political agent, who acted as an interpreter. The prince's apartments were in the palace, the greater part of which was built by Ahmed Shah. We were shown

into a large quadrangle, more completely oriental than anything I had previously seen. One side was occupied by a building three stories high, with a flat roof and balustrade; it had embayed projecting windows, with richly carved lattices, and a style of architecture of Moorish character, something like the drawings of the Alhambra. The court was completely surrounded by a grapery, forming a cloister; a light framework ran all round, the stems of the vines were planted at regular distances, and the branches and tendrils mantled over the framework in rich festoons. At the end opposite the buildings was a thick shrubbery, with many fruit trees and walks; the walks were broad, paved, and planted at the angles with cypresses. The centre was occupied by an oblong piece of water, with a stone edging, perfectly clear and full to the brim, in which various sorts of fowl were sporting. Nothing could exceed the coolness, tranquillity, and repose of the whole scene, softened by the mild light of sunset. At the farther end of this piece of water, carpets were spread, some of which, I was told, were from Herat, and of considerable value, though their appearance was much the same as ordinary nummud, but softer. Here

sat his royal highness in a chair, I suppose out of compliment to us. After our salaam, chairs were placed for us, and conversation commenced. The prince is a man of about forty, rather stout, his countenance heavy, yet not unpleasing, and improving much when animated in conversation; he had a fine black beard and eyebrows. Those who have seen them both say that he strikingly resembles his father, the late shah. His dress was of white silk and gold interwoven, with a loose outer vest of dark blue cloth edged with gold. His manner was serious and dignified, without hauteur. I looked with melancholy interest upon this representative of the Dooranee monarchs—a king without a kingdom. He is said to have the best moral character of the family, to be a man of peace, and despised on that account by the Affghans, as is natural among a people nurtured in blood and turbulence. He inclines much to the British, and professed his intention of accompanying the force should it evacuate the country. We complimented him on the beauty of his residence, and when he spoke of Kandahar as compared with Kabul, and other topics, expressed our regret that we could not converse otherwise than by an interpreter. He replied that it had always

been a cause of regret to him that he had not been taught English when young, that he had made some attempts to acquire it, but it was uphill work. He was determined, however, that his sons should not labour under the same disadvantage; they were learning English, but he was sorry to say, they were very idle, and loved their swords, guns, and horses, better than study. We consoled him by the assurance that such failings were not confined to princes, or to his countrymen, and requested to see the culprits. They were accordingly sent for. The group, as they advanced,—the rich dresses of the two boys, the black servant following in a long white dress, the buildings and scenery around,—would have formed a beautiful subject for Daniel's "Oriental Annual." Chairs were placed for them, at the right of their father, but rather behind. After the customary salaams, we assailed them with a multitude of questions as to the sharpness of their swords, the swiftness of their steeds, &c., &c. They were very fine boys—I suppose of about twelve and nine years of age; the elder rather heavy-featured, and much resembling his father; the younger a very handsome child, and full of animation. The elder had, at his own earnest request, been sent out

on one occasion with one of the brigades, but, to his disappointment, they returned without fighting. On the 22nd, when the alarm of the enemy's approach was given, he had ordered his horse to be saddled, and told the prince he was going out with the troops, which, much to his disgust, was not permitted. The prince told us that when they were riding with him, they often wanted to discharge their fire-arms; but, as he did not admire that kind of amusement, he was accustomed, on such occasions, to send them to the rear to amuse themselves. I fear the youngsters will hardly prove such quiet people as their papa. After a time we made our salaam, and retired.

Sunday, May 29. Divine service in the morning at half-past five A. M. In the course of the morning, H. M. 41st, two regiments of Bengal native infantry, and what cavalry we had, were ordered out, on an alarm similar to that of Sunday last, but with more serious results. After they were gone, hearing rather a heavy discharge of artillery, and my people telling me that they could see the enemy from the top of the house, I ordered my horse, and went to the Herat Gate. From the top of this, I soon descried three dense bodies of the enemy's

cavalry, on some low hills about a mile and a half to the north-west. They were keeping up a rapid and well-sustained discharge of matchlocks, which was loudly responded to by the shah's artillery. The bulk of our troops were hidden from view by a long belt of gardens between them and the town; but I saw some of the movements of the artillery, as they crossed the plain. After the fire of the artillery had continued for some time, it was succeeded by a heavy discharge of musketry behind the gardens, which I immediately concluded to be from our infantry advancing on the enemy. After a time, I saw a large body of horse, which had been the object of this fire, making off towards the left at great speed. On the right they collected, and came down upon a village, of which they possessed themselves, but were soon driven out by a well-directed fire of shrapnel. They were now flying in all directions, and by about three P. M. all were gone. Their numbers were computed at about five thousand, principally cavalry. It was stated, upon information subsequently obtained from some among them who came in, that they had about two hundred killed, and about the same number wounded. The number of our wounded was

about twenty, and two or three sepoys were killed. Lieutenant Mainwaring, of the 42nd Bengal N. I., was wounded; and Lieutenant Chamberlayne, commanding a detachment of the shah's irregular horse, here received one of those many scars which are the honourable testimonials of his gallantry throughout this campaign. His cavalry, and the Poonah horse, under Lieutenant Tait, did good service this day, as did about two hundred Persian horse, under Aga Mahomed Khan, who was in our pay. This man is of the royal family of Persia, and an exile on account of some attempt to raise rebellion in that country. He is said to be the head of the Assassins, the lineal representative of the Old Man of the Mountains, and to derive a considerable income from the offerings of his sect. Sufter Jung and Achtur Khan were present at this action, and the mother of Akram Khan, who was blown from a gun in October, 1841, at Kandahar. This lady pretended to a vision of the prophet, and was playing Joan of Arc among the Affghans.

At six P. M. I had service in the citadel, but exposure to the distressing heat of the sun during the morning had so completely fagged both officers and men, that my congregation

was very small. It happened unfortunately that on two successive Sundays we had been thus disturbed; but it was most providential that the loss was so small. The enemy expected to have been joined by a large number from the villages around, and were much deceived in the strength of the garrison. Their ill success completely broke their party, which dispersed with mutual recriminations. Prince Sufter Jung surrendered himself shortly after to General Nott, and was received and treated with greater leniency than he deserved; for whatever cause of offence the Affghans in general had against us, from him and his family we were certainly entitled to expect gratitude.

In the course of the week after the action, while visiting the wounded men of H. M. 41st regiment, seven in number, I could not but remark, as I had previously done at Kwettah, the remarkable cheerfulness and contentment of these poor fellows under their sufferings. One very fine lad, who had a ball through the calf of his leg, was explaining to me the nature of his wound, and I asked him whether the ball was extracted.

"O yes, sir," he said, handing it to me,

with a smile, " here it is, such as it is; it's hardly worth calling a ball."

It was a round piece of lead, very small, convex on one side, and concave on the other; evidently a piece of a bullet which had not been cast, but hammered together, and had probably separated when discharged.

" You see, sir," he added—" poor creatures!—they've no way but hitting 'em together; they don't run 'em, as we do. Why, one of our balls would make half-a-dozen of 'em."

All resentment for his wound appeared to be lost in an odd mixture of pity and contempt for " poor creatures" who, when they had the opportunity, had not an ounce ball to put into him. He really appeared rather ashamed of having been wounded by such an unmilitary weapon.

June 3rd. I was invited by an officer of the Bengal army to dine with Aga Mahomed, the Persian prince just mentioned. I accepted the invitation, wishing to see as much as I could of Eastern domestic manners, particularly those of the Persians. If what I saw was a fair specimen, (which I venture to believe it was not,) I am quite satisfied. We found

the prince in an open court, surrounded by good buildings, entered through an embattled gateway. In the centre of this court was an elevated stage of brickwork and chunam; on this was a large, low, native couch, covered by a Persian carpet, as was also the platform itself. Light was given from large lanterns, framed of wood and covered with thin gauze. We made our salaam, which was graciously returned, and we mounted the platform, which was about the height of a table, and on which chairs were placed for us, being Europeans, his highness sitting on his heels at one corner of the couch, which thus served him both for chair and table. The guests were a surgeon of the Bengal army, who had been attending one of the prince's followers who was mortally wounded in the action of the 29th of May, a young lieutenant of the Bombay army, the officer by whom I had been invited, and myself. My introducer was the only one who spoke Persian, and he, of course, was our interpreter.

Aga Mahomed was plainly dressed, wearing the high Persian fur cap. He had a fine black beard and arched eyebrows, a good manner, and considerable vivacity. We found on the couch a few dishes of stewed meats

chilis, &c., as a kind of whet to the appetite. He made many inquiries as to what could have brought the Feringhee moollah so far, whether he drank wine, &c.; good-humouredly expressed his dissatisfaction at the scantiness of my beard, and seemed rather shocked that a person of such sacred character should caress a spaniel dog that was paying his court to the company. Finding that the moollah's creed did not forbid the introduction of liquors, he produced two or three, all sufficiently abominable (for both wine and spirits were at this time very scarce articles in Kandahar), but all evidently alike to Aga Mahomed, who "consumed" them, with a facility which was perfectly marvellous. This was before dinner! Meanwhile, the numerous servants who stood on the ground around the raised platform appeared to be under no restraint: they chatted and laughed freely among themselves, made their comments to the prince on his own witticisms and those of his guests, and took a very considerable share of whatever was handed up, before it reached us. A hookah, during the intervals of conversation, was passed round, of which those who were smokers took two or three whiffs. The prince asked if we would have music. Of

course. Accordingly, a wild-looking man was introduced, who, as our host informed us, was obliged to take a certain portion of opium before he could perform. He carried a very small guitar, and had a companion who was the vocalist. They sat on the ground, and I was about to give them my attention, when I was told that it was not etiquette to listen to them, and the conversation and laughter proceeded as if they had not been present. Some of the airs were pretty, though I could not say much for the weak performance of the opium-eater, or the shrieking nasal tones of his comrade. But what could be expected from persons to whom it was not etiquette to listen?

Meantime, serious preparations were making for dinner. Water was brought round, and we washed our hands. A large oval flap of cake, about one foot by a foot and a half in extent, and about three quarters of an inch thick, was laid before each guest, to serve the threefold purpose of bread, plate, and napkin. I could not but think of the prediction of the "dira Celæno" to Eneas, as I found we were literally reduced to eat the plates on which we fed.

Dish after dish was now brought in, and placed, without order or regularity, wherever

a vacant space appeared on the couch—rice, pilau, kabaubs, stewed meats, curries, hard-boiled eggs, with several heterogeneous dishes, which I cannot attempt to describe. Into these, the guests, without scruple, plunged their fingers, placed a portion on the cakes, and thence shovelled it into their mouths with the same instruments of nature's providing, the servants around freely taking toll of the dishes as they came up, in the like fashion. All this was dreadful, but such was the aching void within, that I was fain to eat, though "eye of newt and toe of frog" had been mingled in the viands. My attitude also was so intolerable, while sitting on a chair high above the couch, which only reached to mid-leg, and bending forward with elbows on knees, vainly endeavouring to convey food to my mouth with a scoop formed of three fingers, that I followed the doctor's example, discarded my chair, and sat cross-legged, tailor-wise, on the platform, so as bring my face a few inches above the couch.

Thus the evening wore away. Water, now really needed, was again carried round, and poured from an antique shaped vase, through the fingers, into a small bowl, the servant holding the bowl with the left hand, and pouring

from the right. "After this ceremony, a cup of tea, and a farewell circuit of the hookah, we made our salaam and departed.

This was one of the few incidents which varied my life during my residence in Kandahar; in general, the extreme heat which made it impossible to go out from seven A. M. till six P. M., the solitude of my house during that time, and the want of books, rendered it exceedingly wearisome. Visits to and services at the hospitals, and divine service on Sundays, with a day occasionally spent at the cantonments with H. M. 40th, were the principal reliefs to this monotony.

On my visits to the 40th regiment, I occasionally inspected the schools both of the adults and boys, and examined the latter in the Scriptures and the Church Catechism, and was delighted to find that, even in the field, and under all the harassing service through which they had passed, the schools were as efficiently kept up, as they could have been in barracks at Bombay or Poona.* The offi-

* An excellent plan was adopted in this regiment of requiring each non-commissioned officer to pass a fresh examination in some higher branches of arithmetic, &c., before he could attain the next step in promotion. This plan kept the school well filled with adults, and gave all those who aimed at promotion a direct motive for diligence in study, besides supplying the

cers were most kindly attentive to the comforts and real interests of the men, the men, as a natural consequence, attached to their officers, and a general good feeling prevailed from the highest to the lowest. Perhaps the blessings of good government, or the miseries of its opposite, are nowhere more strikingly displayed, than in an European regiment, and here I had the happiness to see an example of the former, which, the more I became acquainted with it, excited my admiration the more. In this corps, I could not but observe, as I had previously done in H. M. 41st, the very great attention of the men during divine service. Though under the most unfavourable circumstances, drawn up in hollow square, and standing, as it is rather facetiously denominated, "at ease," no signs of impatience

regiment with respectable and well-conducted non-commissioned officers. It is much to be wished that the plan were universally adopted. Finding employment for the men, and fitting them for rational amusement and occupation, would do much to abate drunkenness and disorder, and render punishments unnecessary. As a proof of this, during the whole time I was with H. M. 40th, though necessarily a period of great licence, there was not an instance of corporeal punishment, and when we subsequently joined the army of reserve at Ferozepore, though several European corps met together, not one man in the whole regiment who was warned for duty was ever found drunk.

or even inattention were manifested, and scarcely a man ever fell out from the ranks. I found indeed, almost immediately upon taking the field, that it was absolutely necessary to shorten very considerably the ordinary morning prayers, which are used when there can be a change of posture, and the audience can sit down during sermon. After one or two experiments, I regularly read the Litany only, in the open air service, and this, with a sermon of about fifteen or twenty minutes, was listened to without weariness by all; but I am convinced that either in the heat of the hot season, or the chilly mornings of the cold, it is almost impossible, even for the best disposed, to maintain attention to services much longer, unless the preacher have extraordinary powers of commanding the minds of his hearers, and that the feeling of weariness, towards the close of a long service in the open air, must obliterate any salutary impressions which may have been created in its earlier parts. The service in the evening, which was in a tent, and attended principally by officers, was the full evening service appointed by the church, and here I found that many of the congregation, as well as myself, were often struck with the manner in which

the lessons from the Old Testament were illustrated by customs around us. Thus, on July 3rd, (sixth Sunday after Trinity,) the lesson containing the parable of Nathan to David, on the Poor Man and his Ewe Lamb, brought to mind the same sort of attachment as equally prevalent here at the present day. The poor among the natives are very fond of these little pets, whom they ornament and dress up in a very fanciful way. The sepoys frequently have them. While I was at Kwettah, my horse-keeper gave a rupee and a half (three shillings) for a little creature of this kind, which literally occupied his hut and his bed, shared his food, and was his constant companion. It was ornamented with a necklace of ribbons and white shells, and the tip of its tail, its ears, and its feet, were dyed orange colour. It followed him whenever he took the horse to water or to exercise, and "was unto him as a daughter."

About 15th July, orders began to arrive for the breaking up of the corps levied in the name of the late shah, and from thenceforth the proceedings in the commissariat and ordnance departments indicated an approaching move, but none could divine what the government proposed to do with respect to the

prisoners at Ghuznee and Kabul. All was kept a profound secret; and though the destruction of the fortress and stores at Khelat-i-Ghilgie seemed to forbid the hope of advance, we could not bring ourselves to believe that it was the intention of government to withdraw the whole force through the Bolan, and abandon these unfortunate captives to their fate.

July 26th. The 3rd regiment Bombay light cavalry had a pic-nic at a village about six miles off, near the Urghundab River, called Baba Wullee. I joyfully accepted an invitation to join them, for I had long wished to penetrate beyond the singular chain of hills which I have described as lying to the west of Kandahar. It will seem strange to English readers, that this pic-nic was obliged to be made under the escort of an hundred of Skinner's irregular horse, for it was not considered by any means safe to venture without a strong guard. I set out early with Captain Reeves, 3rd cavalry, Lieutenant H. Seymour, H. M. 40th, and Mr. Battie, 20th regiment Bombay N. I. The moment we passed the narrow defile of Baba Wullee, the valley opened upon us in all its beauty. The contrast between this and the other side of the defile was most

striking. Never had I expected to see anything so like England till I revisited it. The Urghundab was gently winding through the plain; the meadows were as green as the fields at home, and every little village surrounded with extensive, blooming, and productive gardens, "each in its nook of leaves." It was beautiful and refreshing indeed! My companions were shooting, and in their love of sport, and mine of scenery, we rambled, I think, higher up the sides of the hill than prudence warranted, especially as the guard had gone on, for this was the very pass in which Lieutenant Inverarity was murdered in Lord Keane's campaign. Happily, however, nothing occurred to excite alarm, and in due time we arrived at a fine ṭope (grove) of large mulberry trees, in which was a small square tank surrounded by willows and other trees and shrubs, with one magnificent plane tree at the end, near which some fakeers had built a cottage.

On an eminence, a little above, was the ruined mansion of Baba Wullee, who certainly had displayed no little taste in the selection of a site for his dwelling. It was very picturesque, and as like a ruined monastery at home, as ruined mud could resemble ruined

stone. The use of the gothic arch is universal throughout Affghanistan. Behind the cell, on the hill side, was the tomb of the owner, with a small musjid, and a fakeer or two as idle, dirty, and ragged, as the rest of their tribe. They described Baba Wullee as a giant, and if the mound which they showed as his grave, were, as they asserted, of the exact length of its occupant, he must have been a giant indeed! I got a sketch of the tank and Baba Wullee's house.

A double-poled tent was pitched in the tope, and the horses picketted under the trees around, for the tope was large enough to shelter them, and give ample space to us. Here we spent a long and pleasant day, sketching, chatting, shooting, sleeping, as inclination and fancy dictated. Some of the party went to the Urghundab, and netted a fine dish of fish, which we had for dinner. I went with another party into a large garden, where we found the most delicious mulberries, and shook the ripe peaches from standard trees; and magnificent peaches they were. The trees in the tope were so large, and the foliage so thick, that we felt no oppressive heat, even in the middle of the day, and returned in the evening delighted with our excursion. *Then* there was

nothing to embitter its recollection, but *now* it is saddened by the remembrance that three of the finest soldiers and kindest hearts of that happy party are mouldering in the deserts and passes of those unfriendly regions, their graves unhonoured and unknown.

August 4th. Preparations for moving still proceeded. One of these had nearly been productive of very serious consequences. A quantity of superfluous ammunition was directed to be destroyed, and a serjeant of artillery had inconsiderately spread a lak and a half of ball cartridges over a confined yard within the citadel, and set fire to them. The explosion was tremendous; the concussion was felt through the whole city, and several glass windows (not very plentiful in Kandahar) were shattered to pieces; several persons were burnt and bruised, though providentially none killed; and the balls flew in all directions several hundred yards around. The appearance of the smoke was peculiarly beautiful; it shot up in one white column, relieved against the deep blue sky, to a great height, and then spread into an immense palm-like head, evolving wider and wider, till its distinct form was lost.

One large division of the force was already encamped without the walls to proceed down

the Bolan into Sinde, under the command of Major-General England. The other, under Major-General Nott, was to go by some other route. Much had been said about a road by Dera Ismael Khan, but though no one pretended to *know*, the fact that the whole of the Europeans, (with the exception of one company, Bengal foot artillery,) were under General Nott, and that within the last day or two, four eighteen-pounder guns, the destination of which had been hitherto kept secret, had also been attached to his force, satisfied the great majority that it was designed for Ghuznee at least, if not for Kabul. It now remained for me to ascertain with which of these bodies I was to go, and I submitted the question to Major-General Nott, who very kindly referred the matter entirely to my own option. I did not hesitate a moment, for since he had with him nearly the whole of the European force, it was clear that there could be no proper place for the chaplain but with them. I commended myself, therefore, to the providential care of God, not insensible to the probable perils of the expedition, yet feeling that I was in the execution of my duty; and I attribute it to his goodness that I had no uneasy apprehensions.

And here I would remark, that in order duly to estimate this expedition, and General Nott's merit in the undertaking, it must be viewed from this point. It so happened, through God's goodness, that its objects were accomplished with a facility and a small amount of loss which were perfectly extraordinary; but this could never have been calculated on. To cut off all means of retreat, to march a force consisting of not more than seven thousand fighting men, carrying with them all their supplies, through the very heart of an enemy's country, where a force not much smaller in amount had been utterly destroyed but a few months before, was an undertaking requiring no ordinary nerve and firmness of purpose; there was, besides, no *certainty* of any co-operation, for it was not till after General Nott had possession of Ghuznee, that he knew anything of the advance of General Pollock, or whether indeed he had sufficient carriage to enable him to advance. It is also perfectly certain that it was mainly in consequence of his own representations of the practicability of such a move, that the order was given to him to advance; to him therefore, without disparagement to his gallant and able coadjutors, it must, I think, be mainly attri-

buted that we were enabled to retrieve our disasters in Affghanistan—to him, under God, the gratitude of his country is mainly due for the restored stability of our empire in the East.

The Sunday before the march of the force, July 31, I had the comfort and satisfaction of partaking of the holy communion of the body and blood of Christ, with a small party, in which were members of all the three Presidencies; some were going with General Nott, and some with General England. It was very unlikely that we should all assemble again to worship God together, even if our lives were spared; this consideration gave a peculiar solemnity to the service, and I trust we parted with an humble and consolatory hope of reassembling at our Father's board in heaven, however our lot might be ordered on earth. Surely of all men in the world, the soldier in the field most needs that source of strength and resolution under all exigencies, which the hope of the grace and favour of God, through Christ alone, can bestow. Would that this were more universally acknowledged, and this spiritual aid more constantly and fervently sought.

CHAPTER VIII.

MARCH FROM KANDAHAR TO GHUZNEE.

THE precise period of our removal from the town had been kept as profound a secret as everything else relating to the expedition, until suddenly on Sunday morning, August 7, the whole place was in bustle and confusion, at the departure of the troops. Only those who have the management of such an undertaking, are qualified to judge of the circumstances which may have rendered it necessary to delay the move till that morning, and the season was certainly too far advanced to justify the loss even of a single day; I could only regret that such was the case, and pray that better success might attend our expedition, than such a commencement appeared to portend.

Although the march was not to commence

till the following day, the town would have no safe residence for a Feringhee, even for a single night, after the troops had evacuated it; strong guards were, therefore, placed at the gates that evening, to prevent the return of any of our people.

Timour Shah was to revisit India, with General England, and his brother, Sufter Jung, at his own request, was left at Kandahar, to hold it if he could; it was not anticipated that he would be able to do so; and great confusion and bloodshed were expected to follow our retirement.

Having given directions for the loading of my camels, I mounted my horse, and took my last ride through the streets of Kandahar, with a heavy heart, from melancholy forebodings of the flames of discord which would burst forth between those who had favoured and those who had opposed us, and with earnest longings for that blessed period, when wars should cease in all the earth. We pitched on the ground which General England had occupied at our first coming. It was a wretched day; no public worship, and but very little retirement or quiet.

I have since been informed by one of the prisoners then at Ghuznee, that Shums ood

Deen Khan, the governor there, on hearing that the whole of the British troops had evacuated Kandahar, caused a salute to be fired in triumph, imagining that the whole force was about to retire by the Bolan Pass; nor could he be persuaded, till some time after, that we really designed an advance on Ghuznee. This was one good result of the secrecy which General Nott had so prudently observed; for the time allowed the enemy for preparation was much less than it would otherwise have been.

The following day was spent in taking leave of friends who were going with General England. Many a mutual benediction and good wish was bestowed, but there did not seem one who would not have been heartily glad to exchange places with us. The heat was extreme. At this period it was from 111 to 116 degrees in our tents. The camp was pitched in a line of great extent. The number of fighting men, I believe, did not exceed seven thousand. The cavalry consisted of the 3rd Bombay light cavalry, Skinner's horse, the Shah's horse; in all, I think, not much exceeding one thousand. The artillery—the 1st troop Bombay horse artillery, the 3rd company 1st battalion Bombay foot artillery, 3rd company 2nd battalion Bengal foot artil-

lery, 1st troop Shah's horse artillery, (native,) with a party of Bengal, and another of Madras sappers and miners. The guns were—four 18-pounders, two 24 lb. howitzers, four 9-pounders, twelve 6-pounders; total twenty-two. The infantry—H. M. 40th and 41st regiments, and the 2nd, 16th, 38th, 42nd, 43rd Bengal N. I. We carried provisions for forty days, which, with ammunition, &c., loaded ten thousand public and private camels, besides bullocks, asses, mules, and tattoos. The followers it is impossible to estimate, but they must have been at least double the number of fighting men.

On Tuesday, August 9, we broke ground, and marched four miles. The 10th—a march of ten miles brought us to Killa Azeem, a rather large fort, with circular bastions at the angles. The water from a kareez here is very good, but there is a stream which is exceedingly brackish. Here were some difficulties with regard to the carriage of commissariat stores, which rendered it necessary to halt the following day.

12th. Marched to Kul-i-Achool, (the village of the school-master,) fifteen miles. During the first part of the march, owing to the darkness, I got entangled among the baggage

cattle, was nearly smothered in dust, and lost a favourite terrier, which I never recovered. As daylight appeared, and I got to the head of the column, the scene became very interesting; the ground was prettily undulated, and the waving line of red uniforms, the cavalry, guns, and thousands of camels passing through it, was a striking contrast to the solitude around, and to the dark rocky hills rising on each side. This march brought us to the Turnuk River, passing through a valley, the verdure of which was exceedingly grateful to the eye accustomed to little but sterile rocks, and plains of dust and sand.

13th. Marched at four A. M. upon Shere-i-Sufr, (the city of rest,) eleven miles; the road, which was in some parts steep and narrow, lay on the side of stony hills, by the banks of the Turnuk, for some miles. A short distance from the ground we were leaving, we passed the village of Kul-i-Achool on the right; the ground was covered with southernwood, and varied but little in character from that of the previous day.

On arriving at our ground, we found the villagers bringing in fruit, grain, and bhoosa, for sale. A few camels were also offered. For all these supplies we were indebted to the tact

and management of Major Leech, of the Bombay engineers, the political agent.

Sunday, 14th. Marched upon Teere-un-Daz, (the flight of the arrow,) ten miles and a half. The ground continued much the same: the valley of the Turnuk, with low undulating hills on each side, and higher mountains, its extreme boundary, still further back, of the same bold, broken, and rocky character with those around Kandahar, and, indeed, throughout the whole country; the road, on the whole, good, but often intersected by water-courses. The mornings were now getting cold, about sixty degrees, while the middle of the day was still above a hundred degrees in the shade; a trying variation of temperature to weakly constitutions, though we had very little sickness.

At five P. M. I celebrated divine service in the mess-tent of H. M. 40th regiment, for such as chose to attend. This service I was enabled to conduct, throughout the expedition, with very few interruptions, and it was generally the only service we had, for we always marched on Sunday mornings, and it was impossible to assemble the men in the open air in the after parts of the day. It was tolerably well attended, but not so well as it

might and ought to have been. It was a cause of great regret to me, though not of surprise, that I never could get any non-commissioned officers or privates to attend this voluntary service. They were fatigued by the march, many were ordered for picket duty, and, above all, there were no means of giving them seats.

15th. After marching about a quarter of a mile, we came to the pillar which gives name to Teere-un-Daz, a small obelisk marking the spot where Ahmed Shah is said to have lodged an arrow, shot from the top of a neighbouring stony hill. I had neither time nor means for measuring the distance, but it did not appear to me to be an extraordinary shot. I thought Robin Hood, or William of Cloudeslee, would have beat him hollow. An idea of distance, formed by the eye only, is, however, very uncertain.

We halted after marching about six miles, and from the top of a rocky hill, the view of the valley was very pretty. The hills bounding it on the right were of a deep purple hue, the plain of a lively green, from the southernwood and juwassee, or camel thorn; herds of camels and flocks of sheep were grazing on the opposite side of the river; and the ad-

vancing force could be traced far in the rear through clouds of dust, in the midst of which bayonets were occasionally glancing, and red uniforms now appearing and now lost to view.

At about ten miles distance we came to a spot where an action was fought in May, 1841, between a body of about three thousand Affghans, and a detachment, under Brigadier Wymer, consisting of a wing of the 38th, N. I., two guns, and some irregular horse, escorting supplies to Khelat-i-Ghilgie. The affair lasted from six P. M. till nine, when the enemy went off, having utterly failed in their object of seizing the convoy, and leaving sixty men dead on the field, besides those they carried off. The spot is marked by a small mill, situated near some broken ground, with three graves of the warriors in its immediate vicinity. At about nine A. M. we halted at Asseer-il-Mee, twelve miles distant.

16th. A march of eleven miles to Assia Huzara; about mid-way we crossed a deep ravine, which obliged us to make a wide circuit. On the road I missed my horse-keeper, and when in camp, the other servants informed me that he had been taken sick on the road, that they had wished him to ride on one of the camels, which he declined, and said he would

follow them. I was very anxious on his account, having previously lost a camel-driver in a similar manner. The apathy of these people, with regard to their own safety, is perfectly astonishing, and a native, when sick, appears to have no resource but to lie down and abandon himself to his fate. In time, however, he appeared, and relieved my apprehensions.

Since we left Kandahar, four Sepoys, of the 27th regiment, N. I., which formed the garrison of Ghuznee, had escaped from their servitude, and come into camp, exceedingly thin and ragged. I had here an opportunity of observing the horrible effects of caste, in destroying the natural sympathies between man and man. Although these men had behaved exceedingly well, yet because they had been among infidels, and eaten with them, instead of being received with open arms by their countrymen, as they would have been anywhere else in the world, not one would eat with them, or permit them to associate with him, or assist them in the least, but they were driven away as dogs. How much is it to be lamented that a system of superstition, which so hardens the heart, should receive the encouragement it does from European Christians! I verily believe this system would, be-

fore now, have been broken down, had it not been for this encouragement; but European officers, coming out to India at a very early age, are enthralled by it before they are capable of estimating its evils, and it becomes the custom with them to extol "high caste men," and to despise "low caste," even more than the natives. Whatever ability a man may have, his being "low caste" is sufficient to exclude him from all the advantages of the army and government employment, and the strongest inducement is thus held out to the perpetuating of the system. This feeling is most strongly displayed among the officers of the Bengal army; and it never appears to enter into their contemplation, that these very "high caste men" whom they extol, so far from returning the compliment, look down upon them as on a level with, if not inferior to, the very lowest pariahs. A subscription was here entered into for rewarding those who had assisted in the escape of these poor fellows, and forming a fund for the relief of any others who might be recovered.

17th. A very dusty march of ten miles, to Khelat-i-Ghilgie, famous for the siege which it sustained in May last, when commanded by Captain Craigie, and under the political au-

thority of Major Leech, to which I have already referred. When the garrison was withdrawn, the defences were demolished, and it now presented only a heap of ruins. Its first appearance was that of a table hill, sloping on the two sides, with a frustum of a cone rising in the centre; its form, however, is, in fact, that of a rude triangle, about one hundred feet above the level of the plain, with a conical citadel of about ninety feet more. It had been surrounded by a deep trench, with a wall of earth, and was supplied with water from several delicious springs within. It must have been a place of formidable strength, under any circumstances, even to Europeans. Nevertheless, the Ghilgies, without artillery, attacked it on one side, and at one angle, in the most determined and persevering manner, ascended the walls with scaling ladders, and were bayoneted from them by the garrison. The angle was defended by a 6-pounder gun, and, as an instance of their determination, I was told, that one man was killed in the embrasure under the gun. Their loss, in killed, was, I believe, subsequently ascertained by Major Leech, to have been five hundred; and a large pit near the fort was filled with the dead bodies, by the garrison, after the action.

Since the fort has been abandoned, the Ghilgies have disinterred them, and walled in a burial-ground at some distance. This was one of the most determined efforts of the enemy during the war, and Captain Craigie, his officers, his gallant corps, and the whole of the brave little garrison, well earned the honours that have since been conferred upon them.

The night after our arrival here, two unfortunate camel-men, straying beyond the guard were murdered, having their throats cut by these wretches, who, at the same time, were bringing large quanties of grain and bhoosa into camp, professing friendship, obtaining guards for the protection of their villages, and quietly pocketing our rupees.

The next day we halted, and I occupied myself in sketching the fort, though sorely impeded by the dust which clogged and smothered everything.

19th. A march of nine miles to Ser-i-asp, (the horse's head,) very cold in the morning, and temperate during the day; a great change from the heat which we had formerly experienced: but this was easily accounted for, as we had mounted from an elevation of 3,484 feet above the level of the sea, at Kandahar, to one of 5,773 feet, which is that of Khelat-i-

Ghilgie, and were mounting daily higher. During our halt, various native reports were received, that Ackbar Khan had broken off all negociations with General Pollock, in consequence of a hint that General Nott's force might march *viâ* Kabul, and had declared that a British force should not come by that route. Two sepoys, prisoners escaped from Ghuznee, and a camp-follower, from Kabul, came into camp to-day, but could give no recent intelligence.

20th. After a march of about eight miles we encamped at Nowruk. The hills during this march exhibited a very different appearance from that we had hitherto seen, and instead of being bare rock, were dotted over with trees, which, I was told, were principally juniper. The general features of the country became more verdant and pleasing, and some of the windings of the river were exceedingly pretty. Norwuk was the scene of an action between the Affghans and a small party of artillery and infantry, the whole under the command of Captain Anderson, Bengal artillery, the infantry led by Captain Woodburn, in which the Affghans were defeated. Thus our every march was traced in blood! I dined with the 3rd light cavalry, and walk-

ing in rear of their lines before dinner, saw a group of people standing round a bush. I went up to them, and found them gazing on a human head, covered with blood and dust. It was that of an Affghan, who had stolen a camel, and being pursued by a party of troopers and overtaken, had refused to give it up, and made fight; he was shot, and his head cut off, and brought in as a trophy. How strongly does this barbarous custom illustrate many incidents of Scripture—David and Goliath, Jehu and the sons of Ahab, John the Baptist and Salome! It is almost invariable among the natives. While I was at Kwettah, when the force under General England was retreating from Hykulzye to Kwettah, Captain Hammersley, political agent, sent a party of Brahooe horse, called the Bolan Rangers, to obtain intelligence. About four miles out, they met a party of Kaukers, with whom they had a skirmish, in which one of the Kaukers was killed. The party returned at full gallop, and the Brahooe commander walked into the residency, where a large party were at dinner, and after giving his intelligence, suddenly produced from under his garment the ghastly head of his victim, from which the expression of mortal agony had

scarcely passed away, and the blood was still dripping. How apt an illustration of David brought before Saul by Abner, " with the head of the Philistine in his hand," as an acceptable offering. I was not present on the occasion, but heard it from several, and particularly from one officer, who described the horrified countenances of the guests as strangely contrasting with the exultant and self-satisfied countenance of the Brahooe, who evidently regarded it as an irrefragable proof of his zeal and fidelity. I fancy that when excited and in action, all nations are much alike; but certainly the Orientals appear to be naturally more cruel, and to have a greater delight in blood and mutilation than the nations of the west, though doubtless the difference is mainly attributable to the general reception of the principles of Christianity, which more or less affect the tone of feeling and habits even of those who individually are but little under their influence.

Sunday, 21st. A short march upon Tazee. This is the spot where a brigade under Colonel Maclaren, which was proceeding to the relief of Kabul at the end of 1841, was obliged to return, on account of the depth of the snow and severity of the frost; the whole of their en-

camping ground was whitened with the bones of dead baggage cattle.* Had divine service in H. M. 40th mess-tent, and observed with great satisfaction that the congregation was increasing, and particularly that many young officers attended.

22nd. Another short march to Sir-i-Tazee.

23rd. A march of eleven miles to Chusm-i-Shadee; the road was through a fine open plain, with bold hills on each side. We encamped with the river in our rear; directly in front, and on the right side of the valley, was a peak, and in its side a cavern, where an attempt had apparently been made at mining. The peak above, and the earth thrown out of the excavation, were of a red colour, denoting the presence of iron ore. There were many villages and gardens under the hills on each side, from which we obtained abundant supplies.

24th. Halted at Chusm-i-Shadee; the alternations of temperature were now very great indeed. At sun-rise this day the thermometer stood at forty-six degrees, in the heat of the day

* This place is also memorable as the site of the first battle between Shah Zemaun and Shah Mahmood, two sons of Timour Shah, in which the latter was entirely routed, (see chapter vi.)

it was at one hundred and six in the tents; yet the force continued remarkably healthy. Supplies during the day were liberally poured in from the neighbouring villages. We congratulated ourselves on meeting with so much civility thus far, but felt that, under Providence, we were indebted for it to Major Leech, in whom the natives appeared to have great confidence, and whose tact in managing them was excellent. Reports, however, were brought in that we were to have a fight at Mookoor.

25th. March of seven miles to Chusm-i-Gunjuk.

26th. Marched eleven miles and a half to Gojan. The march of this day and the day before was through a fine level plain, bounded by hills, and well supplied with good water, and abundant forage for camels. Villages and forts were numerous under the hills. About three miles from our halting-ground we came to a broad ravine, forming the boundary line of the Ghilgie country. On the banks of this was a small fort, built by Major Leech, and intended for the protection of dawks and kafilas. It is now dismantled. This was the scene of the slaughter of Guddoo Khan, whose son and his retinue met us with Brigadier Wymer's brigade at the Khojuk.

(See chapter vi.) He was coming from Ghuznee, and was first attacked at Mookoor; he made his way to this place, and took refuge from his pursuers in this fort, then held by a garrison in British pay; his murderers, however, entered, (forcibly the garrison said, but this seems hardly possible, it is almost certain they were treacherously admitted,) and effected their purpose. Nothing satisfactory has ever resulted from attempts to take the Affghans into British pay. A round hill, in front of our present encampment, was celebrated as the spot where a Goorkha regiment, under Sir John Keane, ascended the height and destroyed two hundred Affghans. Thus every spot told some tale of blood and slaughter, and the destruction of human life on both sides during the last four years, must have been much greater than is generally supposed.

27th. A march of twelve miles to Mookoor. The previous night and this morning there had been rumours of attack, and we marched in closer order than usual. The quarter-master general's party was a little in advance of the column; there were parties of cavalry on each flank, and two guns with the rear-guard. After marching about three miles,

the light companies of the different regiments were ordered to the front, and all was expectation. On we went again, and came to a deep ravine, with some very broken ground, where we fully expected to meet the enemy—but no—A little further, and a Cossid of Major Leech's came in, and told the general, in Oriental phrase, "That his name had driven his foes away." A party, indeed, harassed the rear-guard, but were driven off with the loss of three men, and without any booty. We arrived at the springs of the Turnuk, and encamped on a level plain of green turf, where the enemy had also evidently encamped the day before. The turf was most refreshing to the eye, and watered by a delicious stream, flowing from several springs, which gushed out of the rock. On the left of the valley rose a bluff rocky hill, which towered over our encampment. On the ridge of this, five or six of the enemy sat perched like crows; they complimented us with a few shots, but were far out of range. There was, however, a general expectation of what the military men called "a little sniping" during the night, which was not disappointed, though no harm was done.

Sunday, 28th. The weather for two or three

previous days had been singularly hazy, warm, and oppressive. At about nine P. M. on the night of the 27th, while lying in bed, I had experienced a tremulous motion both of the bed and tent, which I could only attribute to the slight shock of an earthquake; it occurred twice, after an interval of a few minutes; it could not have been wind, for the bedstead touched neither the tent-pole nor the walls. I mentioned it in the morning, cautiously at first, as I rather expected to be laughed at for my pains; but I soon found that it had been very generally felt, and by some much more distinctly than by me. We marched upon Oba, twelve miles, in the same order as on the previous day, and distinctly traced, on part of the road, the track of the enemy's two guns part of the spoils of Ghuznee. The march was very tedious, for the weather still continued most oppressive, and we were obliged to halt frequently, in order to allow the camels and rear-guard to close up. The enemy gradually increased in force on the rear, and the firing was pretty sharp and constant. At length the officer commanding the rear-guard sent up to say that there was not only a large body of infantry, but about six hundred horse upon them, and requested a reinforcement of

cavalry. Two parties, one of Skinner's, and one of the Shah's irregular horse, were accordingly sent, and soon changed the face of affairs in the rear. The enemy's horse escaped, with the exception of about twelve, but the infantry were overtaken, and about fifty of them cut down; the killed on our side were five, and there was no loss of baggage.

About half-past eight A. M. we arrived at our encamping-ground at Oba, and I hoped after breakfast for a little quiet, and divine service at five P. M., as on Sunday last; but very different was the fate that awaited us. Finding that the country had risen, and that we were not to expect any forage by fair means, I sent a camel, with a camel-man and horse-keeper, to join the foraging party, at about half-past twelve P. M. They had not been long gone, when there came a report that the enemy were in great force in our neighbourhood, and I sent a man in all haste to recal them. A little while after, Colonel Maclaren, of the 16th Bengal N. I., rode up hastily to the general's tent, and in a hurried voice exclaimed that the body of our cavalry were destroyed, and he feared scarcely a remnant would be able to return. I overheard this, as my tent was opposite, and started up as-

tounded, for I had no idea that the cavalry were out, and though I had heard some firing, had concluded it was an attack on the grazing guard. I ordered my horse, and while he was saddling, breathed an earnest prayer to God that matters might not be found so bad as was reported.

Meantime the "assembly" had sounded, the Bombay horse artillery under Captain Leslie, and the light companies of infantry, had turned out, and all was hurry and alarm. I went with the general and his staff towards the scene of action. As I went, I learned that a report had been brought to Captain Delamain, 3rd Bombay light cavalry, commanding the cavalry, that their grass-cutters were being slaughtered by the enemy; that he had gone out with two squadrons of regular cavalry and three hundred sowars of the irregular horse, in all not more than five hundred; that the enemy had retired before him, showing only a small party, and had thus drawn him round the spur of a ridge of hills, when he suddenly found an overwhelming number both of horse and foot posted on the side of an opposite hill; that he had charged them, but was overpowered; and every report that arrived

seemed worse than the former, as to the amount of damage sustained.

Approaching the outskirts of the camp, we saw a confused body of camels, baggage-tattoos, bullocks, and followers of all descriptions, hastening in; behind them, an impenetrable cloud of dust hid everything from view. As we advanced over the plain, we saw, to my inexpressible relief, the various detachments of cavalry drawn up in order, and no enemy in sight, they having retired behind a ridge of hills in the front. The account was bad enough, though not so frightful as we had heard; our troops appeared to have been attacked by about five thousand; (if, as some stated, it was the same force which we encountered two days after, the public despatch rates them at twelve thousand;) and though so unequally matched, they had drawn off with the loss of thirty-two killed and thirty-nine wounded, out of about five hundred. But the loss in officers was heavy: Captains Bury and Reeves, 3rd light cavalry, killed, Captain Ravenscroft and Lieutenant Mackenzie, 3rd light cavalry, severely wounded, Lieutenant Chamberlayne, Shah's irregular horse, slightly. By the best accounts I could gather, however, the enemy

must have sustained a loss equal to our own. Captain Bury was said to have cut down four before he was surrounded and overpowered. Captain Reeves was shot through the body and fell from his horse. Lieutenant Mackenzie received a sabre cut in the sword-arm which penetrated the elbow joint, while in the act of attacking a person said to be Shums ood Deen Khan; he had also three sword-cuts over the head, which penetrated two thick puggerees, and notched his cap. This is a singular instance of their dexterity with the sword, which I saw and examined, otherwise I could scarcely have credited that a sabre could have been so used as to penetrate so many folds of soft cotton cloth; an English dragoon would perhaps have stunned the man, or fractured his skull by strength of arm, but I do not conceive that he could have cut through such a defence. Two finer men and more gallant soldiers than Reeves and Bury I have seldom seen, combining in their characters all that was gentlemanlike, kind, and excellent. By Reeves' death particularly, (whom I knew the best,) I lost an acquaintance whom I highly valued. He had such sweetness of temper, that to know and to love him was the same

thing. He was one of the most constant attendants of my Sunday congregation.

The cavalry, with Leslie's guns to reinforce them, again advanced over the hills to recover the bodies of their killed, while we turned with the infantry, Captain Blood's nine-pounders, and Captain Anderson's six-pounders, to the fort from which the attack on the grass-cutters was said to have been made. It was rather large, and with three towers within. As we approached, several unarmed people came out to meet us with supplicating gestures, and pleaded that their village had no share in the matter. The general listened to their tale, told them to remain quiet, and ordered Captain F. White, with the light company of H. M. 40th regiment, to proceed and examine the fort, and ascertain whether there were any evidences of their having taken a part in the affair.

As they approached the gate, accompanied by Major Leech to act as interpreter, the infatuated wretches, though they had professed to surrender, discharged a volley of matchlock balls at the company, one of which very nearly killed the major. The men upon this rushed in; the light company of H. M. 41st, another

company of H. M. 40th, under Captain Neild, and some light companies from the native corps, were ordered to support Captain White; they had been enraged by the previous events of the morning, and one of those painful scenes ensued, which are more or less common to all warfare, and which, I fear, under such circumstances, it is almost impossible to prevent. The fort was found full of people, and all armed and resisting. Every door was forced, every man that could be found was slaughtered, they were pursued from yard to yard, from tower to tower, and very few escaped. A crowd of wretched women and children were turned out, one or two wounded in the *melée*. I never saw more squalid and miserable objects. One door, which they refused to open upon summons, was blown in by a six-pounder, and every soul bayoneted.

At this time I was with the general's staff, very near the walls, and some said the volley of balls fired on the company passed close over us; but if it were so, I was too intent on the fort to notice them. I drew gradually nearer and nearer, till at length, curiosity prevailing over prudence, I entered it. Seldom, I apprehend, has a clergyman looked on such a scene. Destruction was going on in every

form—dead bodies were lying here and there —sepoys and followers were dragging out sheep, goats, oxen, and goods (a string of our camels, with the commissariat brand upon them, led out of a walled enclosure, clearly proved the falsehood of the assertion, that the inmates were not parties to the attack)—European and native soldiers were breaking open doors where they supposed anything might be concealed—and every now and then, the discharge of a firelock proclaimed the discovery of a concealed victim, while the curling blue smoke, and crackling sound from the buildings, indicated that the fire was destined to devour what the sword had spared.

The bugles sounded, and I retired from this painful spectacle. It is difficult to ascertain the number that perished in the fort, but it is probable that not less than from eighty to one hundred were shot; and if any remained concealed in the buildings, they must have perished in the flames, for it was one mass of blazing ruin before we left it, and continued flaming all night. The enemy's loss in killed during the day, including the affair on the rear-guard, could not have been less than one hundred and fifty; ours was thirty-seven, including officers.

While the attack was thus made on the fort, the bodies of our slaughtered friends were recovered, sad, mangled remains, bearing mournful testimony of the ferocity of these savages.

We now returned to camp, having been, including the morning's march, between nine and ten hours on horseback, the greater part of the time exposed to a grilling sun, which, with the excitement of the affray, had wearied us to an excessive degree.

But the sorrows of this dismal day were not yet over; there remained the melancholy office of committing our poor friends to the grave; we were to march in the morning, and it could not be delayed. It was desirable also that the spot should be carefully concealed, as the Affghans frequently dig up and cast from their graves, the bodies of Feringhees. It was dug in the inside of a tent, and at half-past ten P. M. they were laid side by side; the earth was made perfectly smooth, and a quantity of bhoosa burnt over the place to give it the appearance of a watch-fire having been there. As many of their friends as could be got together were assembled, and as we proceeded silently down the cavalry lines, for we were too much oppressed by sorrow at

such a blank in the corps, to speak even in whispers, the accordance of almost every feature in the scene with Wolfe's beautiful Elegy on Sir John Moore, struck me forcibly. No sound was heard but the slow footfall of the party.—"We spoke not a word of sorrow." A single lantern pointed out the path, and the moon was just rising dim and sickly through the mists on the horizon.—"No useless coffin confined their breasts;" for the mangled remains were wrapt in their bedding; and as the solemn service proceeded, we could hear in the distance an occasional shot from the pickets. We "bitterly thought on the morrow" indeed, for we were to leave our gallant comrades, unrecorded except in the memories of those who loved them, and with the strong and painful probability that they would not be suffered to —"sleep on, in the grave where a Briton had laid them." Oh! what a day! Could my friends at home realize it, surely they would prize more highly their peaceful Sabbath blessings. It was now nearly midnight. I threw myself on my bed and obtained that oblivion of sorrow in sleep, which a gracious God is pleased to grant, even in the midst of such scenes of excitement.

29th. This morning, in consequence of the

fatigue and want of forage which the cattle suffered yesterday, we merely moved our camp about four miles, to get fresh forage. We came upon a deserted camping ground of the enemy, where the tracks of their guns were very visible. We were told that they had made a circuit with the guns, and taken them to Mookoor, in our rear, for safety. They were in sight, hanging in thousands about the hills, beating their tom-toms, and firing matchlocks in the air, but keeping at a very respectful distance. The camels went out, and were well foraged, and we had a quiet night.

30th August. A march through a plain country to Kara Barg (the Black Garden.) The report brought into camp by Major Leech's people, was that the enemy intended to fight us at three deep ravines which crossed the road near each other. When, however, we arrived at this spot, there were no traces of them. They showed themselves occasionally, in small parties, on the undulating ground to the right, and the main body appeared to be marching parallel to us on the other side of this rising ground, beating tom-toms. When we arrived at our encamping ground, a fire was opened upon our people, and signs of defiance exhibited at a fort about half a mile

distant. These being continued, at about three P. M. the general turned out a considerable part of his force, with two eighteen-pounder guns, one twenty-four pound howitzer, Anderson's troop of horse artillery, six-pounders, and Blood's battery, nine-pounders. At first, I believe, there were three regiments of infantry, but others were subsequently ordered out to reinforce them, and eventually there were five regiments in the field, H. M. 40th and 41st, the 16th and 38th Bengal N. I., and the 3rd Shah's regiment, in all perhaps about three thousand bayonets. I could not persuade myself to remain in camp while all this was going on, having, perhaps "in the naughtiness of my heart," as was Eliab's charge against David, a strong desire to see the battle, as well as a hope that I might possibly be of use; and feeling also that, with an enemy of whose force and position we knew so little, the field was likely to be quite as safe, as the camp.

We proceeded by a circuitous route up a deep nullah, which covered our approach, and emerging, advanced to within about five hundred yards of the fort of Goyain, which, like most in this country, was a square, with bastions of an octagonal form at the angles;

the tops of these were covered with men, shouting and firing their matchlocks in bravado. The guns were brought forward, and made ready, the infantry filing arms, and sitting or standing in line, H. M. 40th in front, the 16th and 38th N. I. in their rear. The first discharge of the six-pounders, under Lieutenant Turner, swept away the battlements of the right bastion, and put the defenders to flight; but the practice of the heavier guns was but indifferent: though they riddled the walls through and through, and raised clouds of dust, they merely made small holes about the size of the shot, and the fire not being concentrated, no effect was produced. The enemy became emboldened, and again mounted the bastions. Seeing the little effect produced, Lieutenant Terry of the Bombay artillery, rode up to the general, and volunteered, if he would give him two or three companies to cover his approach, to advance a gun to the gate, and blow it open. I was examining the gate with a glass at the time, and could perceive that it was built up with mud on the outside, and thought he would find it a more difficult task than he imagined; he advanced, however, gallantly, with the grenadier company of H. M. 40th under Lieutenant Wake-

field, and tried the experiment, but in the meantime our attention was diverted to other matters, and he finally withdrew the gun without having effected his purpose, though we saw the next day that the gate was considerably shattered.

While we were standing inactive, and gazing with little satisfaction at these disheartening operations on the fort, the enemy had collected in dense masses on the hills to the left of the gate, and were keeping up a fire of matchlocks; for these we cared but little, as they were too distant to be very effective; but, suddenly, whiz came a round shot just over our heads, followed in instant succession by another; both pitched about fifty paces in our rear, and the ricochet carried them over the 16th regiment N. I. It is impossible to describe the effect they produced; it was utterly unexpected, for we had been assured that the guns had been taken to Mookoor and I fancy very few who were there had ever been under the fire of round shot before. None but those who have experienced it can conceive how immense is the difference between watching the practice of your own guns against the enemy, and that of the enemy's against you! People at home think the effect

of two trains on the railroad passing each other at speed somewhat startling, and so it is, but I can assure them it is nothing to the thrill excited by one of these iron missiles whirring over your head, when you know that there is no tram-road to protect you from collision. I am not naturally nervous, but am constrained to confess that the first discharge produced an effect like that of an electric shock, which seemed to vibrate from the crown of my head to my toes; and though I became more used to them afterwards, I never bowed with such profound reverence to any one in my life, as to these gentlemen, nor was I singular, all around me seeming to concur in paying them the same respect; the effect was the greater, that we were at the time standing listlessly, without excitement to engage our attention. Our own guns were immediately turned upon these hills, and thundered forth an angry reply to their salute, and the action was maintained for some time with artillery alone.

During this time the enemy made a move towards the plain, from some hills on the right, evidently designing to turn our right flank, which was prevented by the 16th and 38th regiments in our rear, advancing in that

direction. We were in frequent peril, for their guns were well laid, and fired with amazing rapidity; and had they not been posted on a height, and consequently sent plunging shots, our loss from them must have been great; they providentially fell a few paces either in front or rear of the line. One, however, came bounding through No. 1 company of H. M. 40th, and set those who were nearest in motion to save their legs, but, extraordinary to relate, when the clouds of dust which it threw up were dispersed, it was found that there was not a man touched; one struck a doolie in pieces about ten paces to my right, and cut off both legs of one of the bearers; another struck the shoulder of the horse of Lieutenant De Blacquier, H. M. 41st, and knocked it in pieces, carrying away, at the same time, the leg of the groom who held him. It was strange to observe the almost entire absence of any sense of danger in all around; jokes and laughter resounded on all sides, and the general feeling appeared to be rather that of a set of schoolboys at a game of snow-balls, than of men whose lives were in instant peril.* The

* An Irish serjeant of H. M. 40th, had his head grazed by a spent ball; it confused him for the moment, and he exclaimed, "Och! somebody take my piece! I'm kilt—I'm kilt—I'm

fact is, the excitement is so great, that there is no time to think, and it is not till afterwards, in an interval of cool reflection, that the mind becomes awake to the dangers which have been incurred; if it were otherwise, I conceive men could never be brought into action at all.

At length, the enemy on the hills seemed to feel the effects of our guns; the firing ceased, their guns were evidently removed, and presently we saw them, at some distance, descending in great force into the plains to the left. Their movements are so irregular, and they are so scattered, that it is difficult, if not impossible, to estimate their numbers, which I think are generally exaggerated. The public despatch stated them at twelve thousand, and it is probable the general might have received subsequent information from the people who came in, and they may have had a large body in reserve; but my impression, and that of many whom I asked, and who were more accustomed than myself to estimate the numbers of bodies of men, was that we did not see more

kilt!" As they were leading him off, he looked over his shoulder, and cried out, "Faith, boys, and I don't think I'm kilt *entirely* yet!" His second thought called forth shouts of laughter.

than from six to seven thousand at the utmost.

The word was now given to advance. The regiments advanced in open column, and then deployed into a widely-extended line, threw out their light companies, and began to step briskly. This was a striking sight. I followed them closely up, leaving the fort in the rear. The enemy, however, had evidently no inclination for close quarters: they kept retiring from one undulation of the ground to the other, keeping up, at the same time, a tremendous fire, though at a long distance, which was well answered by the skirmishers. I have no means of knowing what injury was done to them; but it is astonishing that, under such a fire, so little loss was sustained by us. Their fire was evidently too high, and passed over the heads of the line; but the balls fell thickly enough, as I can testify from experience, a few paces in the rear.

In following, I met a poor fellow of the 41st, who had received a shot, and who entreated me to explain to the doolie-bearers where to carry him. I directed them to keep in rear of his regiment, and was proceeding, when Lieutenant Meeson, H. M. 40th, who had received a shot through the thigh, and

was standing bleeding, called out to me, and begged me to get a doolie for him. I cantered off and got one, and was endeavouring to make a tourniquet of my handkerchief, to stop the bleeding, when Dr. Fairbairn, H. M 41st, came up and bandaged it. While this was doing, the regiments had gone considerably in advance, and my horse-keeper suddenly called my attention to the fort which we had left in rear, from whence I saw eight or ten sowars of the enemy coming up at a canter. They had doubtless seen two or three officers deep in rear, and thought they had a prize.

"My dear fellow," I said to my wounded friend, "we must be gone sharply, or we shall certainly be cut off."

He got into the doolie, and I sent the horse-keeper to run ahead, and urged the bearers to the utmost speed, trotting my horse alongside of them, and speeding them both with hand and voice. By God's good providence, these men were not so adventurous as I expected; and when we began to get near the regiment they reined up and drew off. When we got up, the affair was at its height; the fire of the light companies was

spirited, nor was that of the enemy inferior in spirit, though they still fired high. The balls were singing around us with their shrill, musquito-like sound, and gouging up the ground on every side. These were spent balls, otherwise they pass by with a kind of "*phit!*" It was a continual advance on our part and retreat on theirs, and a rattling fire from right to left on both sides. The clouds of dust, and the shades of evening approaching, prevented my seeing much of what was going on in front; nor was it till my return into camp that I understood the full extent of their loss.

When the bugles sounded the halt, we remained in possession of the field, of the enemy's camp, their limbers, and all their gun ammunition, with four thousand rounds of the Honourable Company's ball cartridge from Ghuznee, and, above all, their two guns, one of which was dismounted and abandoned, the other captured late in the evening by the gallantry of Captain Christie and Lieutenant Chamberlayne, of the Shah's irregular horse. Captain Christie had a severe blow from a jezzael barrel on the side of the head.*

* It is much to be regretted, and was a matter of general as-

We had one killed, and twenty-seven wounded, including one officer—an astonishingly small amount of casualties, considering the length of the affair, and the fire maintained by the enemy. What was their amount of loss it is impossible to estimate, as they so carefully carry off their dead, as well as wounded, but not much, I imagine, for they kept, throughout the day, a most respectful distance. The Shah's horse cut down about fifty in the capture of the gun, amongst whom it was said were some deserters from the 27th regiment, N. I., which had composed the garrison of Ghnznee, who fought with peculiar ferocity. These, I suppose, were the people who laid the guns, in which exercise they had been practised by our officers at Ghuznee. One of them, a drummer, who was killed, was found to have made his fife-case into a holster-pipe for his pistol. Though their casualties were probably few, they were totally dispersed; and the loss of their boasted guns on the first occasion of employing them, was peculiarly mortifying.

tonishment, that all mention of the gallant captors of this gun was omitted in the public despatch; and that no allusion was made even to the presence of H. M. 41st regiment on the field, though it had an equal share in the affair with all the other infantry corps present.

We now returned to camp, Captain F. White, H. M. 40th, being left with his own and a few other companies to bring in the guns. We arrived just as the gong was striking 7 P. M., and, with a hearty and cheerful "good night," went off to our respective tents to prepare for dinner. A very joyful party assembled at H. M. 40th mess; for, thank God! there were no vacant seats, except Mr. Meeson's, and, he having only a flesh wound, some seemed disposed rather to envy him the honour of his scar than to pity him. Towards the close of dinner, my friend White and the other officers of his party came in, and completed our satisfaction. The guns were safe in camp, and the ammunition had been destroyed, after the men had replenished their cartouche boxes. One by one, we dropped off, to seek repose after our fatigue, which, from the heat of the sun and the excitement, had been great. Such was the battle of Goyain—not very sanguinary, but sufficiently so for a hero of my cloth; and, in the solitude of my own tent, my heart swelled with emotions of gratitude, when I looked back on the mercies of the day. Doubtless it is true of every day of our lives that "in the midst of life we are in death"—doubtless we

are guided through many perils in the ordinary course of daily occupation—but then they are *unseen* perils. Here I had seen and known that the air around me was full of winged deaths; on the right and the left they had fallen, yet not one was permitted to touch me. The escape from the sowars, also, I trust I shall never forget. Happily few in my calling have to journalize such dangers and deliverances: I have only to pray and strive that my returns of gratitude may be in some measure commensurate to my obligations.

31st Aug. Halted at Goyain, in the district of Kara Barg, with the intention of again attacking the fort; but in the morning we found it, and several which surrounded it, deserted. Much spoil was taken in it: grain and forage, and many articles of European manufacture captured at Ghuznee—officers' boots with brass spurs, camp bedsteads, swords, &c. &c. The sepoys and followers supplied themselves abundantly with firewood from the roofs and doors of this fort, which was close at hand, and the more distant ones were set on fire. These scenes of devastation, occurring when the excitement of action is over, are melancholy and distressing; but I

fear they are altogether unavoidable. I subsequently ascertained that the Hazarus, who are constantly at enmity with the Ghilgies, had taken the opportunity afforded by their desertion to set these forts on fire; but, doubtless, our camp followers were no unwilling assistants.

Sept. 1. A march of seven miles to Chupper Khana. The scene was picturesque: on the left side the thickly dotted forts of the Hazarus were very pretty, on the right were the blazing and smoking forts of the unfortunate Ghilgies. The whole plain on both sides of the road is covered with mud forts, many of them within matchlock range of each other. Some of those of the Hazarus I tried to imagine into English villages, with church towers rising from among the trees. But, alas! how deceptive are pleasing appearances! I was told, as I rode along, that the owners of many forts as near each other as these, had blood feuds of generations' standing, and that the males watched in turn on the walls from day to day, to get a shot at each other, while they sent out the women, whose persons are respected, to fetch in what was required. What a dreadful state of society! Some horsemen being seen on the left, a party of cavalry were sent

to see who they were, and returned accompanied by them: they were Hazarus, and, being at high feud with the Affghans, were disposed, for the present, to further our views against them. They are Sheahs, whereas the Affghans are Soonees; and this difference in the Mahomedan creed would be alone sufficient to account for the inveteracy of their hatred to each other. But they are an entirely different race; they speak Persian, and their countenances are round and flat, bearing strong marks of Tartar extraction. They were skinny and sun-dried, and neither well dressed nor well mounted. Major Rawlinson, who acted as interpreter, introduced them to the general. They saluted him with much respect, and said they were our brethren, for Ferang and Hazaru were both sons of Japhet, and we were welcome to their country. They were asked why they had burnt the Ghilgies' villages, and replied, that Shums ood Deen Khan, the chief who was defeated at Goyain, had levied a contribution of ten thousand rupees upon them—that this was such an opportunity for revenge, that it was not in human nature to resist it—and they were utterly astonished that we had not anticipated them, by dispersing our troops over the coun-

try for the same purpose. It was remarked, that if we had done so our people might not have made the most exact discrimination between the Ghilgies' forts and their own. They acknowledged that that would have been awkward; but still, revenge was a sweet morsel, and they were surprised we had not done it. They stated that there were three things which they wished to impress on the general's mind: 1, That every Soonee was a wretch, whose throat they trusted he would cut without mercy; 2, that every man speaking the Affghan tongue was a villain, who should share the same fate; 3, that they hoped he would level the walls of Ghuznee, which were a serious inconvenience to them. We smiled at these merciful suggestions; but, with regard to Ghuznee, the general assured them of his willingness not only to destroy the defences, but to blow up the huge sixty-eight pounder gun, Zubber Jung, which they appeared to hold in great awe.

Poor wretched people! nurtured amidst blood, and broils, and distraction,—when shall a happier state of things dawn upon them by the introduction of the Gospel of Peace! Their present friendliness was a convenience to us in the obtaining of supplies; but there

appears little difference between them and the Affghans as to their position in the scale of morals. I was informed that they were originally Tiorks, that their territory extends from the Turnuk to the Oxus, and from Kabul to Herat; that they were settled in it as early as the fourth or fifth century, and, singularly enough, though places in their territory retain the names given them in the original language, the people have entirely lost it, and universally speak Persian. The fabulous tradition of Ferang and Hazaru being sons of Japhet is universal among them; but the probability is, that their name originates in the Persian word for a thousand, and that they received it from being originally enumerated by thousands for military service.

Sept. 2. A march of nine miles to Oosa Kaureez, through a sandy plain abounding with juwassee, (or camel-thorn,) and dotted with forts, as on the previous day. Reflecting upon the fearful slaughter that would probably ensue to both sides from the siege or storm of Ghuznee, I determined to make it a special object of prayer to God, that he would be pleased, in his mercy, to order events in such a way as might avert so fearful a calamity. The effects of poor Bury and Reeves were sold

this day. These are always melancholy occasions to a reflecting mind. Abroad as at home, there is something so revolting in hearing the auction-room jokes and unfeeling remarks occasionally passed upon the property of those whom one knew and regarded, when hardly yet cold in their graves, that, were not the things that are offered for sale, often really wanted in the wear and tear of a campaign, I would always willingly avoid attending them.

Sept. 3rd. A march of eleven miles to Nanee. During this day a small party of the enemy's horse, about a hundred and fifty, were in sight, evidently sent from Ghuznee to reconnoitre, who kept retiring before us from hill to hill, carefully keeping out of the range of small arms, and having seen us encamped, went off.

Sunday, September 4th. A march of eight miles. After the first five, or thereabout, we turned the point of a hill, and came in sight of the far-famed citadel of Ghuznee, at a considerable distance to the eastward, across a level plain, and lying at the spur of a chain of hills of moderate elevation. Under this chain of hills, and on the road to Kabul, are two lofty and ornamented minars, the founder of which or the

occasion of their erection I was not able to learn. The plain was very prettily studded with villages, gardens, and forts, in every direction, and with abundant fields of lucerne, &c. We encamped near a walled garden, out of which the light company of H. M. 40th, under Captain White, had driven a few of the enemy. At the back of the town is a rising ridge of hills, upon which is the village of Bullool. This was covered with people, principally horsemen; but in the town we could see no one; no flags or ensigns of any sort were displayed; and many were the conjectures as to whether or not they would make a stand and defend it.

We enjoyed, contrary to our expectation, a quiet Sunday; and, at five P. M., I had divine service in the mess-tent of H. M. 40th regiment. The service was well attended, and the melancholy losses at Oba, on the previous Sunday, together with the immediate prospect of further bloodshed, seemed to produce considerable seriousness in the members of the congregation; and I felt, myself, an additional motive for urging them to seek that reconciliation with God, through the blood of Christ, which affords the only well-grounded hope of a blessed immortality, from the great proba-

bility that some who were present might be destined never to attend another service. I reiterated my prayers in private that, if possible, the storming of the town might be averted.

We were much disturbed during the night by some Ghazees, (Mussulman fanatics, who devote themselves to die for the faith,) who got near the garden by which we were encamped, and kept up a fire of jussaels and matchlocks, which was returned with interest by the muskets of the sentries. There was great noise, and little sleep, and one or two men were badly wounded.

Sept. 5th. Moved camp, and made a circuit to the east face of the town, in order to get within distance, for commencing operations. There had been much talk about the enormous 68-pounder, before referred to, Zubber Jung, (the mighty in battle,) by which the enemy had annoyed Lord Keane's, and directions were given to pitch the camp out of his range, an object which, as will presently be seen, was by no means attained.

The 16th Bengal N. I. was ordered to proceed with Major Sanders, the engineer commanding, for the purpose of reconnoitring the walls, and fix upon a point for

breaching. The horsemen, who had assembled on the hill around the village of Bullool, as on the previous day, came down with great apparent boldness, and numbers of footmen manned its summit. It is impossible to estimate their numbers, but they were quite sufficient to be formidable. By degrees guns were sent forward; the light companies of H. M. 40th and 41st, and afterwards the regiments themselves, were ordered out; the reconnoitring party became an army; and the firing was very sharp on both sides. I was in a small garden, in full view of the whole, and with a very good glass. It was admirable to see the light companies ascend the heights; but, poor fellows! they were exposed to a very heavy fire, in return for what they gave, and many were severely wounded, though but two or three were killed. The enemy, as at Goyain, with every advantage of numbers and position, made no stand, but gradually drew off, leaving our troops in possession of the heights and village of Bullool, within reach, however, of a well-directed fire of artillery from the town.

I could see by my glass, the enemy making strenuous efforts to encourage and animate each other, and many rushed forward a few

paces, as if they would advance again, but they hesitated, prudence prevailed, and at length they retired, but slowly, and without confusion.

The gaining of these heights was a most important advantage, as they completely commanded the town. Our list of casualties was forty-six, killed and wounded, among whom Ensign Stannus, of the 16th regiment, N. I., wounded in the thigh, was the only officer. The enemy's loss could not have been great, though a few were left on the field, for they seemed perfectly to understand the principle, that discretion is the better part of valour, and to make their retreat in such very good time, that unless we had been much stronger in cavalry than we were, no impression could have been made on them; nor could much under any circumstances: for the nature of the country was such, that there were few places where our cavalry could act with effect, though their practised horses and yaboos, (stout ponies,) ascended the rocky heights in a surprising manner.

We now went to breakfast, and, as we imagined, in quiet; but how vain the hope! Just as I was going to the mess-tent of H. M. 40th, the most astounding report struck my

ear, and whirr! whirr! whirr! came an enormous shot over the top of the mess-tent; it pitched among some camels, wounded one or two, and was carried by its ricochet over H.M. 41st mess-tent, in rear, where it killed another camel. It was a message from Zubber Jung himself, and when we were just recovering from the effect produced, whizz! came another in the same direction. We started up, for few felt any further appetite for breakfast, and rushed out. Instant orders were given to remove the camp, and as we had understood that he was fired in one direction, which could not be changed, some walked up the main street, and fancied themselves safe,—alas! in vain. One of the shots had been found, and carried to the front of the general's tent, and a large body of officers were collected, to view this immense mass of hammered iron, weighing above fifty pounds. We soon had fearful evidence that the group was conspicuous enough to Zubber Jung and his friends, for after a longer pause than usual, in order to bring him round, whizz came a shot, right over the general's tent, and rebounding, passed through the fly of the tent of Captain Bulton, 2nd regiment N. I., in the rear.

It is impossible to describe the horror which

seemed universal, at the really awful noise of these enormous shot, as they flew over our heads, and every one hurried towards the hills, where we hoped to be out of their reach. While the camp was moving, which occupied about three hours, a dense mass of camels and human beings were huddled together, into which they kept blazing at intervals, differing from ten to thirty minutes, throwing up clouds of dust, and yet, though it seemed impossible but that every ricochet must destroy multitudes, and though our friends, who were in possession of the hills, and witnessed it, dreaded to hear the amount of casualties, such was the goodness of God to us, that we only lost four or five camels killed or wounded,—not a single man was touched.

Our new camp was pitched more to the north, and farther back, and we hoped, though feeling by no means secure, that we were out of our enemy's reach. But an effectual method was found of silencing him, at all events as long as daylight continued. Two 9-pounders were dispatched to the top of the Bullool hills, which as soon as they reached Lieutenant Terry, of the Bombay artillery, threw a couple of shot so accurately among the gunners of Zubber Jung, that we heard no more of him,

or of any other firing during the night, except a matchlock or two; and, notwithstanding the great excitement of the day, I slept most soundly. The rear of our new camp abutted on the village and gardens of Roseh, containing the tomb of Mahmood of Ghuznee, and the sandal-wood gates brought from Soomnaut, in Guzerat, of which we have since heard so much. I went to bed earnestly repeating my supplications that the storming of the town might be averted, though I confess I was almost in despair, not seeing how it could be avoided.

Sept. 6th. Very early in the morning, hearing a group of officers in earnest conversation near my tent, I got up hastily, and found, to my astonishment, that the petition had been most graciously answered—the enemy had evacuated the town during the night, leaving their guns, their magazine full of ammunition, and abundant stores of grain, bhoosa, &c. They had, probably, some intimations of Major Sanders' preparations for the breaching battery during the night, and having had a severe lesson in Lord Keane's campaign, on the insecurity of their fortresses against European art, thought it well, with their usual discretion, to decamp in good time. I was

truly thankful that bloodshed was thus spared, and especially, that the lives of gallant and brave men were not to be thrown away upon such unworthy foes. I believe that, individually, many of them are brave men, and there have been one or two instances, as at the Herat Gate of Kandahar, and at Khelat-i-Ghilgie, where they have fought well in combination; but, whether from their distrust of each other, or from whatever cause, certain it is, that they generally made a miserable figure in the field.

I immediately ordered my horse, and followed the general, who, with a large party of officers, had gone to the town, from the citadel of which the British flag was once again flying. The Kabul Gate, the point of Lord Keane's attack, which was nearest to our camp, was built up; I had, therefore, to ride round the north and west sides to the water-gate, at the south-west angle. It is certainly a strong place against natives, or Europeans without the means of breaching, which was Lord Keane's case, since he left all his heavy guns at Kandahar, but it fell short of the expectation I had formed, from the printed accounts. The walls are capable of being breached in a very short time, in several places,

being composed of rubble, stone, and mud, not nearly so good a defence against artillery as mud alone; and though it has a wet ditch of considerable width and depth, this does not completely enclose the town; there are points near the Kabul Gate, at which it may be crossed; and at the point selected for the breach, near the north-west angle, a dam ran across it, which rendered the walls perfectly approachable.

The town, and the citadel, which rises considerably above it, are oblong, and present a side nearly to each of the four cardinal points. There are three gates, at the north-east, north-west, and south-west angles. The north-east, the Kabul Gate, is the direct road to the citadel, but as it was bricked up, I had to pass through the town, a miserable collection of ruined mud houses. I have smiled since, to read in the leading article of one of the Indian journals, a lament over the ruin of the "noble edifices" of Ghuznee. It must always have been a mean, confined, and dirty town, but on our arrival it was wretched beyond the generality of Affghan villages. The long siege, during which the assailants held the town, and the defenders the citadel, had ruined many of the houses, and the Ghazees, when

they obtained possession of the town, after murdering all the Hindoos, who throughout Affghanistan are the principal merchants, shop-keepers, and men of wealth, had destroyed all their houses, and used the materials for fire-wood. There was not a decent habitation in the town, so far as I could see, except the citadel, and even that was in no way remarkable.

After passing these ruinous bazaars, in one of which I saw the mouldering, unburied carcase of an unfortunate murdered Hindoo, I ascended to a platform below the citadel, where I found our great enemy Zubber Jung, an enormous brass gun, bound by ropes on a very clumsy native carriage. It was not so long as I expected, but I subsequently ascertained that it had been cut short, as the muzzle was honey-combed. I got a sketch of it, and much regretted that it could not be taken down to India. In rear of the gun were the buildings occupied as the mess-room, &c., of the 27th regiment, N. I., and to the left the barracks, on the top of which was a rampart, with embrasures for three guns, from whence they had, on the previous day, kept up a brisk fire on our troops when in possession of the heights above Bullool. Ascending to the

citadel, the rooms of which, though very small, were tolerably handsome of their kind, and in good repair, we found several relics of the unfortunate garrison, portions of Colonel Palmer's camp equipage, some medical books of Dr. Thomson's, a camp table, and other furniture. Opposite to the room in which these appeared, was Colonel Palmer's bed-room, which seemed to have been for a time the prison of the whole party; several names and sentences were written in pencil, or scratched on the wall; and one inscription, apparently intended to give authentic information, I copied and transmitted to Major Leech. It was signed by Lieutenant Harris, of the 27th regiment, N. I., and dated 26th of May, 1842. It enumerated the names of the prisoners, stated that they were the victims of the treachery of certain chiefs who were named, who had violated two distinct treaties; that Colonel Palmer had been once tortured, and that their treatment had been marked by every species of insolence and oppression.

It was scarcely possible to gaze, without tears, on this record of the sufferings of our countrymen, especially when we reflected that they were still in the power of these savages, with little prospect of rescue. I went

from the town to the point north of Bullool, where preparations had been commenced by Major Sanders for breaching. The curtain selected for the operation of the breaching battery appeared to me very weak, and he has stated his opinion, in his memorandum on the subject, that it would have been breached in " a few hours ;" a more competent authority than which could not be desired. I felt delighted, however, that there had been no necessity for trying the experiment; for though the breach might have been easily effected, the forcing an entrance and traversing the narrow streets must have cost many valuable lives, if the place had been resolutely defended; and it would have been that kind of fighting, from behind walls and screens, in which the enemy were most at home.

In the evening I joined Captain Christie and a large party of officers, under a guard of irregular horse, on a visit to the tomb of Mahmood of Ghuznee. I was not much gratified. The garden, and the shrine of alabaster, are pretty, but the building is very mean, and the celebrated sandal-wood gates are much decayed, and retain few marks of their original beauty. They are said to have been brought as a trophy from a celebrated Hindoo temple

at Soomnaut, by this great Mahommedan, Iconoclast, about the era of our William the Conqueror. The Hindoos regard them with so great reverence, that Runjeet Singh wished to make a special stipulation in a treaty to which he was a party, that on the restoration of Shah Soojah, they should be delivered to him. During the night, a few Ghazees got into the gardens in our rear, and fired repeatedly from large jessaels, by which a private of H. M. 40th was killed, and two sepoys badly wounded.

Sept. 9th. We had halted at Roseh till this morning, when we moved our camp about two miles, in order to shorten the first march towards Kabul. During this halt the dismantling of Ghuznee had been carried on and completed. The citadel was mined in fourteen places, completely shaken into ruins and destroyed, with the magazine and other buildings. The wood-work of the citadel was burnt. Some of the bastions of the outer walls were mined and blown up, and the gates fired. The whole of the guns, ten in number, including Zubber Jung, were burst, with several jingals and small wall-pieces.

In the course of these operations an inscription, in English words and Greek characters,

was discovered on the wall in a room where the prisoners had been confined, directing attention to a certain beam, where copies of the treaties, made with Colonel Palmer, were deposited: these were found and secured. Immense stores of grain and dry lucerne were found in the town, so that our cattle were revelling in abundance; the troops and followers too were plentifully supplied with wood from the materials of the ruined houses. Much has been said about the destruction of orchards and fruit trees here and elsewhere. I believe such reports to be entirely without foundation. When even in England, with all the aid of well-administered laws, hedge-rows and young plantations can hardly be protected, it would be too much to expect that several thousand followers could be dispersed through an enemy's territory, without some damage being done to the gardens and enclosures; but I am certain that no such practices were ever sanctioned, much less ordered, in the Kandahar force; in fact, we had scarcely time and men sufficient for the destruction of military defences, much less for the uprooting of hundreds of orchards, extending over miles of country. Fruit we had in abundance, apples, pears, orleans plums, grapes, purple and white, water-melons, &c.,

together with various kinds of vegetables, cabbages, carrots, beet-root, &c., all which abound in this delicious valley.

The weather was delightful—the early mornings, at this season, were exactly like the bracing autumn mornings of England, and the heat at noon not more than 77 degrees in the tents. I can, however, easily imagine it to be severely cold in the winter, being 7,720 feet above the level of the sea. During this halt we had the great satisfaction of receiving into camp three hundred and twenty-seven sepoys of the 27th regiment, N. I., who had been sold into slavery, but on their masters deserting the town and villages around, had been enabled to effect their escape.

This morning the sandal-wood gates were taken from the tomb of Mahmood of Ghuznee, and brought into camp, previous to their being removed to Hindostan. Upon the possession of these gates the people greatly prided themselves, and the numerous fakeers attending at the tomb, wept at their removal, as they accounted them their most valuable treasure. One can imagine their exclaiming with Micah, "Ye have taken away our gods, and what have we more?" They were removed, with the lintel and door-posts, under the direction

of the engineer officers, and guarded by a company of H. M. 40th regiment, under Lieutenant G. White. Especial care was taken that the shrine, buildings, and garden, should sustain no injury. I am the more particular in stating this, because advantage was taken of an expression in the Governor-General's proclamation, in which he spoke of "the *despoiled* tomb of Mahmood," to represent the *tomb* as having been rifled and desecrated, and to descant upon the barbarity of such a proceeding on the part of an English army. Nothing can be more erroneous than such statements. The tomb, with the exception of the removal of the doors, remained in all respects as we found it.

CHAPTER IX.

MARCH FROM GHUZNEE TO KABUL.

On September 10th, we bade adieu to Ghuznee, and marched from Roseh, ten miles and a half, to Shushgao. At six miles from Roseh we passed through a narrow stony pass, the highest point of which is about eight thousand seven hundred feet above the level of the sea, the highest elevation to which we had attained. Our camping ground was near a cluster of mud forts, in a wide open plain, with bare hills to the right and left, about three hundred feet lower than the pass. It was excessively cold during the night.

Sunday, 11th. From Shushgao to Hyder Khel, along the same open plain; immense numbers of fortified villages on either side, surrounded by large crops of beans and vetches. Hyder Khel is the spot where Fut-

teh Ali Khan, the elder brother of Dost Mahomed, was murdered by Mahmood Shah and Kamran; (see chapter i.;) he was buried in a garden near Ghuznee. Had divine service as usual at five o'clock P. M. We were much disturbed during the night by the enemy's firing heavy jessaals around the camp, to which our pickets were not backward in responding with musketry. Happily we sustained no damage, but three of the enemy were killed. The elevation of Hyder Khel is seven thousand six hundred and thirty-seven feet; the night was very cold, and ice was on the water at daybreak.

12th. March to Sidabad, eight miles. The road ran through a beautiful valley, but was difficult, being of loose stones, and between low hills, with some deep ravines, well adapted for an enemy who would harass an advancing force, and very awkward for the passage of artillery. To the right of Sidabad was the Kabul river, with many trees; the whole district highly cultivated. At Sidabad is the fort where Captain Woodburn, 44th Bengal N. I., and one hundred and fifty sepoys, were slaughtered, on November 3rd, 1841. He was received into a walled yard under this fort, with promise of protection; but no sooner was

he within it, than a fire was opened upon him from the walls. He made his way out, and defeated his assailants there, but was killed by a shot from one of the bastions. The fort appeared empty and barricaded, but we forced it open, and found poor Woodburn's will, a complimentary letter from Sir W. M'Naghten to him, and one or two other papers, together with his stock, and some breastplates of the sepoys. A party was ordered for the destruction of this fort. In the evening, two privates of H. M. 41st most imprudently strolled unarmed along the river side to a considerable distance from camp; they were met by a party of the enemy, cut down, and dreadfully mangled. A company was sent out upon information, and the bodies brought in and buried. About sunset one of the bastions of the fort, near which Captain Woodburn had been killed, was blown up by the engineers with a loud explosion; and as I returned from dinner, both that fort, and another to the left of it, were blazing bright, and sending up a lurid glare and a dense column of smoke, which obscured the disk of the moon; but this was not the only circumstance that made night hideous. The ground upon which we had pitched was excessively bad,

shut in between hills on both sides, and abounding in ravines and nullahs in every direction, some very precipitous and difficult. From before midnight till sunrise, an incessant roar of matchlocks, gingals, and jussaels, was kept up by the enemy from these hollows and ravines, and loudly re-echoed by the hills around. No sleep was there, except for those who were too weary or too indifferent to regard it, of which number I was not one. Their shrieks were fearful, and at one time, after a rattling volley, they uttered such wolf-like, or rather fiend-like yells, that older campaigners than I turned out in the full expectation that they were about to make a rush into camp. Never did the hours of night appear to crawl so heavily. I rose at half-past four A. M., expecting a long list of casualties, but there was only one sentry of H. M. 40th killed, upon whom they rushed in a body sword in hand and cut his head in pieces, and another wounded by a matchlock ball above the ear, who died a few days after. Firing in the dark must necessarily be very uncertain, but I have often been astonished to observe, whether in darkness or light, how very few shots are effective out of many that are fired. Such continual disturbance, how-

ever, night after night, is excessively harassing both to officers and men.

13th. A march of seven miles from Sidabad. We proceeded about two miles and a half beyond Shakabad, the usual halting-place, and encamped on ground slightly undulating, between hills which lay distant; the ground was greatly superior to that of the previous day. The road was narrow and bad, both for camels and guns, running close to the Loghar River, with banks in many places precipitous and crumbling; the river was crossed near Shakabad by a long narrow bridge, on which I experienced a very providential escape, from what might have proved an extremely dangerous, if not fatal accident. I had ridden about half over it, when I perceived that the remainder was so ruinous and full of holes as to be utterly unsafe. It was so narrow, and so crowded by the light companies following, that it was impossible to return without encountering much toil and confusion. I therefore dismounted, intending to lead the horse, but had scarcely done so, when his near fore-foot slipped into a hole, by which he was thrown forward, and his shoulder struck me down on the bridge; he rolled on one side, and there

being no parapet, went off the bridge and fell on his back into the water; fortunately it was near the bank, and he scrambled on shore, with no injury but a graze on the shank of the leg. Had I been on him I must have been greatly injured, if not killed, for the water was shallow, and he fell with great force into the mud. The night passed in the same manner as the previous one, though the enemy were not quite so outrageous, nor did the nature of the ground admit of their being so near; the continual popping, however, on all sides effectually prevented sleep. In the middle of the night, a son of one of the chiefs of the Kussilbashes arrived with twenty-five horse, to state that they had withdrawn their allegiance from Ackbar Khan, and were ready to render assistance to us; from this we concluded that the success of General Pollock's march from Gundamuck upon Kabul was pretty certain.

The Kussilbashes are Persians by descent, who inhabit a distinct quarter of Kabul; I believe they came originally into the country with Nadir Shah, and by a skilful trimming between the various conflicting parties, have contrived to procure considerable weight.

Whenever the tide of prosperity turns, they turn with it, and are very acute in distinguishing the marks of its ebb and flow.

14th. A march of thirteen miles through a fine plain, and good road, to a spot called Beni-badam, about three miles short of Mydan, and not far from the small ghaut that leads into it. Several bodies, both of infantry and cavalry, with flags, were seen making their way across the plain towards Mydan, where, it was rumoured, Shums ood Deen Khan intended to engage us again. The enemy appeared to be increasing in numbers; indeed, this was not to be wondered at, for the burning and destroying of their forts would of course drive them into the field, partly from necessity, and partly to seek revenge. The cavalry were sent after some of them, but were despatched too late; they had just reached the foot of the rocky hills, and managed to escape among them, and elude pursuit.

Fortified villages abound on every side, some surrounded by trees, and very pretty. Arrived at Beni-badam, we found a deep dry nullah, between which and the rocky hills on our left, the road passed. These hills were covered with matchlock men, and a

fort in advance, at their foot, was surrounded by the enemy's cavalry. The guns were brought forward, and the cavalry, as usual, speedily moved off and dispersed themselves; the men in the hills, however, kept up a brisk fire, which they commenced, also as usual, long before any one was within range. Captain White, of H. M. 40th, with the light companies of the different corps which he commanded, was ordered to crown these hills, a service which he effected in gallant manner, driving the enemy before him; Lieutenant Wakefield, and the grenadier company of H. M. 40th, with equal gallantry ascending in another place. It was a most fatiguing service after such a march, for the nature of the hills required them to drag themselves up large sloping strata of stone, exceedingly slippery, and with very uncertain hold either for hands or feet; nor was it less dangerous than fatiguing. It cost the lives of a man of H. M. 41st, and another of H. M. 40th, the bugler of the light companies. This man had long been in the regiment, and was highly respected. The tears which his officers shed over his grave, touchingly evinced the union subsisting between the men and their leaders, and the combination of gallantry and

feeling which should ever characterise a soldier. Lieutenant Eagar, of H. M. 40th, who was with the grenadier company, was shot through the thigh, and several men, both European and native, badly wounded. The heights thus crowned, and the road cleared, we expected to proceed to Mydan at once, and were disappointed to find that our camp was to be exactly opposite these hills, with the front towards them, on the other side of the nullah. We were disappointed, because it did not appear to what purpose the heights had been cleared, since we could have gone at once to our encamping-ground, which was too far distant to be annoyed from the hills in front, and the enemy who had occupied them returned, as soon as the light companies were withdrawn. I believe that the general was not correctly informed as to the spot selected by the assistant quarter-master general for the camp, or these heights would not have been occupied. We expected a most disturbed night, for although the hills to the right and left were too distant to allow of much injury being done from them, the enemy's discharge of matchlocks was so incessant, and the watchfires indicated their numbers to be so considerable, that we were

sure of abundance of noise, and it was not unlikely that after the moon had sunk they would attempt to creep in upon the sentries. When I returned from the mess-tent after dinner, about eight P. M., I found my servants much alarmed, as a spent ball had fallen among the camels from the hills in the rear. I directed them to pile up the boxes and other kit as a kind of screen for themselves on that side. But we were destined, contrary to our expectations, to spend a perfectly quiet night. When their firing was at its height, and the number of flashes indicated where the greatest number of the enemy were assembled, an eighteen-pounder with grape was brought to bear upon them. It is impossible to describe the astounding effect of the report of this large piece, echoed and re-echoed like thunder from hill to hill; and I imagine there was not sound only, for its effect was to produce perfect stillness on both sides of the valley till four A. M. None but those who have been kept awake for several nights successively by this kind of annoyance, can conceive the relief of a good night's rest, which was rendered doubly sweet by a letter from General Pollock, conveying intelligence of the defeat of Ackbar Khan at Tezeen, and his own intention

to enter Kabul on the 14th or 15th of September. After the many conflicting reports and rumours which we had heard, authentic information was highly gratifying.

15. Marched upon Mydan at half-past five A. M. I have already described the encamping-ground as a plain, intersected by a deep nullah, running between two parallel ranges of hills; those on the left had been crowned on the previous evening, and through them, at about a mile and a half distance, was the pass, or ghaut, leading into the valley of Mydan. This morning we kept on the right side of the nullah, consequently nearer the right range of hills, till we came opposite the ghaut, then turned, crossed the nullah and a brook, ascended the ghaut, and entered Mydan. These hills to the right were now thickly studded with parties of the enemy, whose fire was so constant, and their determination to rush on the baggage, always their great object, so evident, that the two troops of horse-artillery were kept between them and the force, moving upon the right flank, and holding them in check by a continuous fire; this object they fully effected, and the rapidity with which they fired, limbered up, and moved on, was most striking.

While this was doing, an Affghan, gaily dressed in green silk, with a white puggeree, and well mounted, came up to Major Leech, with whom I was riding, a few paces in advance of the general; he was perfectly well known to the major, who gave him a very cordial reception, and informed me that he was a man of one of those very tribes now firing upon us. It is an instance scarcely credible of the cool impudence of these people, and the extent to which they calculate on Feringhee gullibility, (in which, by-the-bye, they have had sufficient encouragement,) that his object was to obtain a document in the general's hand-writing, for the protection of their villages from our troops!!! He frankly confessed that he had himself been fighting against us the day before; but "it was incident to humanity to commit errors one day, and to acknowledge them the next!" The general merely told him that he would have nothing to do with him, on which he retired. I confess I thought he got off very easily. When I ascended the top of the ghaut, one of the most impressive scenes I have ever beheld burst upon me. On one side of the ridge was the imposing military cavalcade crowding the valley I had left; the artillery

vomiting forth smoke and fire; thousands of bayonets glittering in the sun; cavalry, regular and irregular, in their variegated uniforms; horses prancing and neighing; bugles sounding; everything life and animation; the whole closed by a dark brown mass of many thousand camels, slowly emerging from clouds of dust. On the other side was a most exquisite green valley, deeply imbedded in lofty purple mountains, watered by a clear gushing river, dotted over with fortified villages amidst topes of poplars, and surrounded by green fields of maize, rice, vetches, and wheat. A winding and rather precipitous road ran down to the verge of the river, where was a ruined brick bridge, and an old fort on a rocky knoll to the right. Seldom have I gazed on a more lovely and tranquil scene. I could exclaim with Heber,

> "Every prospect pleases,
> And only man is vile."

As yet all was resting in perfect quiet and peace, unsullied and untouched; not a human creature was to be seen. A stronger contrast can scarcely be imagined than between the one side where, with my glass, I could now see the rear-guard smartly engaged with the enemy, in all the rancour and energy of

deadly combat; and the other, where the rich and sequestered valley lay in perfect stillness and beauty. But it was destined to undergo a fearful change! While I gazed, the troops of various arms rushed down the steep, the fort was secured, the heights, which turned out to be strongly occupied, were carried by the light companies of the N. I., amidst the rattle of musketry and roar of artillery; and in the course of two or three hours, the crops on every side, ripe and unripe, were cut down, and the villages wrapped in volumes of smoke and flame, rising amidst and curling over the trees; the camp-followers on all sides were bringing in the spoil, timber from the houses for fuel, and grass and forage for the cattle; and the growing prosperity of years was desolated in less than a day. Such are the horrors of war! Blessed and happy England, where such scenes live only in some tale of the olden time, in which the moss of antiquity and the colouring of romance have softened their hideous features, and concealed their terrors! I had evidence here of the great distance to which the native pieces will carry. While watching the ascent of the light companies up the heights, a ball fell and penetrated the ground at my feet, where I

should have smiled if any one had suggested the possibility of my being within range of small arms. The quarter-master's party, which was in advance, was exposed to a heavy fire on entering this valley, and Captain Adamson, of H. M. 40th, who commanded them, had a very narrow escape, a ball passing through the peak of his forage cap; nor was this the first time they had been exposed to similar danger. I was highly gratified afterwards to see that the general's despatches with regard to this and the previous day, contained a deserved compliment to my friend, Captain F. White, commanding the light companies. The rear-guard had a very sharp skirmish with the enemy; an accident which happened to one of the nine-pounders (the breaking of an axle-tree) induced them to come into the plain with much more confidence than usual, and Lieutenant Terry employed the remaining gun upon them with great effect; about fifty were killed. It is generally very difficult to ascertain their loss with any degree of accuracy, but I give this with some confidence, as I had the account from Major Simmonds, of H. M. 41st, who commanded, and who, as a cool and experienced Peninsular officer, was not likely to be mistaken

in his estimate. During the day, we heard from Kabul, that Captain Troup, of the 48th Bengal N. I., Captain and Mrs. Anderson, of the 59th Bengal N. I., Dr. Campbell, Mrs. Trevor and seven children, had been rescued, and that there was some prospect of the recovery of the rest of the prisoners from the neighbourhood of Bamean, whither they had been removed. General Pollock had had an action at Jugdulluk, previously to that at Tezeen, already mentioned, and had taken possession of the Bala Hissar, with two of H. M. regiments.

16thi March to Urghundee, nine miles. About one mile from the ground we were quitting, we passed the spot where Dost Mahomed left his guns in his flight from Lord Keane's force in 1839. We halted upon rather damp and bad ground, near the mouth of a pretty dell to the left, full of gardens and little forts. The people were friendly and brought us in supplies, and we passed an undisturbed night. In the course of the day we heard that Sir Richmond Shakespeare, General Pollock's military secretary, had gone towards Bamean with six hundred Kussilbash cavalry, in quest of the prisoners, who were in a fort near it.

17th. Marched to within five miles of Kabul, and encamped on the west side of the gorge leading into the valley in which the city stands, and where, though the city was on the opposite side, we were able to see part of the defences of the Bala Hissar. We were in a beautiful plain, forming the centre of a complete amphitheatre of wild hills, upon which the varied effects of light and shade were magnificent. The plain was full of gardens; the fruit exceedingly good. The weather was now like the finest October weather in England, and the thermometer in the middle of the day scarcely exceeded seventy degrees in the shade. From this time Major-general Pollock assumed the command of the Kandahar force as well as his own.

18th, Sunday. General Pollock came over to visit General Nott, and was received with the usual salute. I spent a quiet and tranquil day, meditating on the mercy of God which we had experienced thus far, praying for the safe return of the prisoners, and the welfare of the whole force. Report said that General Pollock's force had come up in a very destitute condition, that they had only two or three days' provisions, and that there was some fear of a scarcity of food; but I endeavoured,

and, I thank God, with success, to cast this and every other care upon him who had so manifestly cared for us. Divine service in the evening as usual, and a large attendance of officers. News arrived during the evening from Sir Richmond Shakespeare, that he had found the prisoners safe, but was apprehensive of an attempt at rescue; it was, therefore, determined, to send a brigade to his support. An order came from General Pollock that a detachment should go upon this service from the Kandahar force, but General Nott remonstrated, on the ground that his troops were fatigued by a march much longer than that of their comrades. Sir R. Sale's brigade was consequently sent, and we lost the honour of covering the return of the prisoners. In the night there was a furious dust-storm, and many tents were overset.

19th. This was a period of intense anxiety and excitement with respect to the prisoners. The brigade for their protection, under Sir R. Sale, passed our camp at an early hour in the morning with the earnest prayers of every one for its success. In the course of the day, Major Leech showed me a note addressed to him by Sir R. Shakespeare from Kaloo, expressing his hope that he should be with us by the

21st. We understood that the brigade was to make forced marches of thirty miles per day, so as to be with the captives on the evening of the 20th, the distance being not more than sixty miles.

20th. Towards evening some of the prisoners arrived in our camp; the rest were at Urghundee, all safe. Great was the rejoicing, as may well be conceived. As I returned from the hospital service in the evening, I saw a little crowd of officers in the lines, and coming up, found they were surrounding Captain Alston, 27th regiment N. I., one of the Ghuznee prisoners. He was dressed in native costume, and certainly looked very like an Affghan. He appeared in excellent health, but almost overpowered by the press, and the multitude of questions from every side. In the course of the evening I saw also Major Pottinger, to whose exertions, I understood, the whole party were, under Providence, mainly indebted for their deliverance. The number of prisoners liberated, including those left in Kabul, was as follows: ladies and European women, twelve; officers, thirty-four; children, seventeen; non-commissioned officers, privates, and clerks, fifty-four; total, one hundred and seventeen.

21st. In the morning broke ground, and marched three miles nearer the town for convenience of forage. Our new ground was about a mile from the gorge before mentioned, to the right of which, on the hill-side, was the tomb of the Sultan Baber, about a mile from camp. We were stationed on some pretty ground, with green turf, and hedge-rows of poplars and other trees, but rather too damp to be very agreeable. Just as my tent was pitched, I met with, and was introduced to, Captain Walsh, 52nd Madras N. I., one of the hostages given up to Ackbar Khan. He came and sat nearly an hour in my tent. He, and indeed all the rest, were in native dresses of very good quality, and concurred in the report of the liberal treatment they had received from Ackbar Khan, which certainly placed his character in a far more agreeable point of view than we had previously been accustomed to consider it. At breakfast time Major Hibbert, H. M. 40th, made up a party to visit the town. The road from our camp lay through the deep gorge already mentioned, between two rocky hills, which were walled to the very summit, with mud bastions at regular distances; the road was very narrow, prettily shaded with trees,

MUSJID OF WHITE MARBLE AT THE TOMB OF THE SULTAN BABER, NEAR KALIUL.

and a stream ran on the right hand by which the bed of the narrow valley was irrigated, and rendered richly productive. The rocks on the left in many places overhung the road. I should think it capable of being strongly defended, and not to be forced without considerable loss to the assailants. At length a narrow gateway, from which the gate had been removed, admitted us into the city. We made our way through narrow, half ruinous, and wholly deserted streets, till we came to the Bala Hissar division of the city, which was strongly walled, with a good gateway, and surrounded by a rather deep trench; to our left on entering, was the corner bastion which Ackbar Khan ruined and blew up; thence we passed, through a small bazaar tolerably well supplied with grain and fruits, into an open square, where I counted twenty-eight guns of various calibre, twenty-five of which were on substantial carriages; one was a curious rifle of very great length, the bore grooved, and carrying about one-pound ball; four brass six-pounders were our own, and one appeared to have been struck in two places by round shot from another gun. I saw three other guns (iron nine-pounders,) in a different part of the Bala Hissar, and I believe more

might have been found. From this square another gate admitted us into the palace, walled in from the rest of the Bala Hissar Division. A broad road ran through the enclosure, to the left of which was the royal residence, in good repair, and on the right, a building for holding durbars, behind which had been the gardens, now utterly ruined, but once I doubt not very beautiful, the flower beds still traceable.* I did not see the palace, as Prince Futteh Jung, a younger son of Shah Soojah, was keeping up a shadow of sovereignty there; but the building on the right was very handsome, having wide open verandahs on the four sides, the ceilings and cornices of which were beautifully painted in panels, with running patterns of roses and other flowers, and the lattices richly carved; at the end of the broad road was a gateway leading to the royal stables, and beyond these some commodious barracks, in which were a miserable ragged rabble, calling themselves a regiment of Futteh Jung's, who imitated our method of piling arms, by putting three matchlocks together,

* The 2nd regiment Bengal N. I. had been stationed, since our arrival, in the Bala Hissar. They had their tents pitched in this garden, and were my hospitable entertainers whenever I visited the town.

and tying them with string at the muzzles! Passing through these barracks and turning to the right, we ascended a very rocky and steep hill to the citadel, from the highest point of which the British colours were once more flying. This, which must once have been a place of immense strength, was one heap of ruins, of which the outer wall alone remained in tolerable repair. It had been built of burnt brick, which is rather unusual, and the wall had been faced on the outside with glazed ornamental bricks, similar to those described in the tombs at Tattah. From the point on which stood the flag-staff, we had a magnificent view of the place and its environs. Kabul is surrounded on every side by hills of greater or less elevation. In our front lay the city, of an extent which surprised me, encircled on three sides by a luxurious belt of gardens; about a mile beyond were the remains of the cantonments whence General Elphinstone's unfortunate force issued on its miserable retreat towards Jellalabad. Between this and the city ran the Kabul River; on our right was the Jellalabad road, running under a bank of low hills; on the left, the two fortified rocky hills on each side of the gorge through which we had come; and behind

us, from the Citadel Hill to those bounding the view, the land appeared wet and swampy, and had an unhealthy appearance. It was melancholy indeed to stand and gaze on the very spot which had witnessed the humiliation and disgrace of our arms, and the destruction of such multitudes. The city is, I should think, more than twice the size of Kandahar, probably seven or eight miles in circumference, including the Bala Hissar, which is probably one-fourth of the whole. I do not think I am far wrong in this estimate, for I see that Major Hough states the Bala Hissar Division to be half a mile long, by a quarter of a mile wide, i. e. a mile and a half in circumference. It is difficult to form an opinion from so hasty a glance as mine, but the houses appeared generally inferior to those of Kandahar, and of the same materials, sun-dried brick or mud, though with more wood in the construction. The bazaars, through which we rode, were very handsome for Affghanistan, which is singularly destitute of good buildings; but to speak of them as superb and surpassing works of art, is as absurd as to talk of the "*noble edifices*" of Ghuznee; they were at that time almost deserted, and the shops generally closed. They were wide, and handsomely covered with roofs

of carved wood-work; the shops were uniform in size and shape, having the front in form of a flat gothic or Tudor arch; and at intervals were squares with stone basins for water in the centre, but it appeared to have been long since water flowed into them. Retiring from the palace, we turned to the left to a ruinous musjid of considerable extent, in a small dark room of which lay the remains of the poor old Shah, Soojah ool Moolk; his body, the fakeers said, was thinly covered with earth, forming a small mound; over this was a mat, which was again covered by the sort of counterpane, on which he reclined in his palanquin when he was murdered; it was white, and the blackened bloodstains were very evident upon it—a remarkable lesson on the unsatisfactory nature of the pursuits of human ambition. The descendant of a line of kings, who once swayed the sceptre of a large portion of Central Asia; twice expelled from his throne; restored but to be murdered in his own capital; and after lying for months unburied, to find at last such a lowly grave! Well has our old poet said,

"The glories of this mortal state
Are shadows—not substantial things;
There is no armour against fate,
Death lays his icy hand on kings;

Sceptre and crown must tumble down,
And in the dust be equal laid
With the poor crooked scythe and spade."

Returning through the city, we met Sir R. Sale's brigade coming in from Urghundee, with the rescued prisoners, the ladies in doolies, the gentlemen, some in doolies, some on horseback, the men on foot, or on camels. They had with them a considerable number of elephants, the first I had seen employed in carriage. I was astonished at the activity and speed of these apparently unwieldy animals. Near the gate by which we entered were the remains of Sir A. Burnes' house; a melancholy spectacle, being now an utter ruin; the narrow street in which it stood, by the numerous scars of musket-balls, bore indubitable evidence of the fury of the conflict which had raged around it. We returned home little disposed for conversation on the road, and fully occupied by the emotions of sorrow and mortification which such scenes were calculated to call forth.

Mr. Nicholson, 27th regiment Bengal N. I., this evening dined at our mess, of which he continued to be an honorary member for some time. He had been one of the Ghuznee prisoners, and during the siege of Ghuznee, had

defended the Water Gate, with a company of his regiment, in a manner which called forth much praise, especially as he was a very young officer. He bore testimony to the barbarous treatment they had received from Shums ood Deen Khan, and the improvement they experienced when they were transferred to the custody of Ackbar Khan. On the day of their arrival, he invited them to dinner, and treated them with great hospitality and kindness. It is, I suppose, unexampled even in European warfare, that a prince should entertain his prisoners of inferior rank at his own table!

23rd. An excursion with a party of officers to the tomb of the Emperor Baber. We turned to the right from the road parallel to which we were encamped, and traversed, for about a mile and a half, a narrow way, beautifully shaded by poplars and willows, with meadows of grass and clover on each side, and brooks and rills which strongly reminded me of home. The weather was exquisite, like the finest summer weather in England, the heat so moderate as to allow of riding or walking throughout the day without inconvenience. We crossed the Kabul River, at this part strongly resembling the Wharf in Craven, by an antique stone bridge, on

which a party of our officers were fishing, and proceeding a little way up the left bank, came to a ruined caravansera, with four gates of lofty pointed arches, which must at one time have been handsome and commodious. Passing through this, we entered what strongly resembled an English park, and passing a small tank, (Anglicè, a square stone-walled fish-pond,) ascended a succession of terraces, shaded by avenues of lofty trees, down which a limpid stream was murmuring in small cascades. At the top of the terraces was another small tank of stone, surrounded and shadowed by trees of surpassing height and beauty of foliage, among which was a hollow sycamore of immense girth. Into this tank the water rushed in a large stream, from a height of perhaps seven feet; more pure and crystal water I have never seen. It was a spot which seemed formed for tranquil contemplation. Ascending still higher to the level of the cascade, we came to a small platform of earth, on which was erected a beautiful musjid of white marble, presenting a front of three ornamented gothic arches. Within and opposite the centre arch, was the niche, or place of prayer; the front was surmounted by four cuspated minarets, the whole in good and substantial repair. Over the centre arch

was a Persian inscription, of which the following is the substance, as given me by Captain Macduff, H. M. 40th regiment. "This beautiful musjid, a place of prayer for angels and cherubim, is erected in the garden and place of rest of the late wise, good, and beneficent monarch, now an inhabitant of Paradise, the Emperor Zakur-ud-deen-Mahomed Baber, by order of the Emperor Shah Jehan Badshah, after the capture of Balkh and Budukshan, the flight of Nuzr Mahomed Khan to Subz-ghan, and his defeat near that place, by divine aid and the bravery of the imperial forces. It was completed in the nineteenth year of his reign, being the 1056th of the Hejirah, (1640,) after two years labour, at an expense of forty thousand rupees, (four thousand pounds.)" I obtained a sketch of this musjid. On a still higher terrace is the tomb of the sultan, plain and unpretending, and near it another, said to be in memory of his daughter, surrounded by a marble screen of flowered open work, so delicately wrought, that it at once recalled Sir W. Scott's comparison of the tracery of Melrose Abbey to the work of a fairy, entwining willows and flowers, who

"Framed a spell when the work was done
And changed the willow wreaths to stone."

The hill, on the other side of which the town of Kabul abuts, rose bold and rocky behind, with a summer-house, at a considerable height. I had not time to climb to the summer-house, but from the side of the hill, one of the most beautiful landscapes burst upon me that had ever delighted my eyes. The rich foliage of the trees surrounding Baber's tomb, formed the fore-ground, beyond was the Kabul River, and on its opposite side extended for miles and miles, the richly cultivated and wooded valley, bounded by a semicircle of mountains, the fantastic and varied forms of which it would be vain to attempt to describe. I shall wander far, and see much, ere the memory of that glorious view is obliterated from my mind.

24th. I rode through the city to General Pollock's camp, by a different route from that of my former visit. I saw the division of the city belonging to the Kussilbashes, which is separated from the other parts by an embattled wall, with bastions at regular distances. There was a strong Kussilbash guard at the gate. I was glad to observe this, as, in the event of the city being fired, of which there was much

talk, it was probable that these poor people, their houses and property, would escape. About a mile and a half on the other side of Kabul, was the spot on the Jellalabad road, called Shere Sung, where Soojah ool Moolk was murdered, marked by a small heap of stones. On arriving at General Pollock's camp, I called on several of the ladies who had so recently been delivered from the enemy, and baptized three infants born during their captivity. It was deeply interesting to listen to their relation of all they had been compelled to endure, from the severity of the weather, rapid travelling, &c., though they seemed to have experienced all the alleviations of which such a situation was capable, and the character of Ackbar Khan rose higher the more one heard of him. He appears to be in humanity and courtesy far in advance of the generality of his countrymen. Both the ladies and the children looked remarkably healthy. As we returned, we heard the explosion of some of the guns which were being burst, and some houses in the city were burning; we understood that the latter conflagration was by order of Futteh Jung, before mentioned as exercising a sort of nominal sovereignty.

25th, Sunday. Divine service at sunrise with the European troops; preached from Deut. iv. 39, 40, on the mercies experienced in our late successful march from Kandahar.* The scene was striking, the sun rising and shedding a rosy hue on the picturesque forms of the distant hills. After service, I was called to bury a gunner of the horse artillery; his grave was in a garden which had formerly been a favourite resort of Sir A. Burnes; it was overlooked by a fort, now in ruins, in an octagonal bastion of which, he had had a room fitted up. Poor Burnes! the very flowers he had planted, frail though they were, had survived the hand that reared them. Evening service in H. M. 40th mess-tent, as usual: preached from Isa. lv. 1.

26th. After a violent thunder-storm during the night, a great change of temperature took place, and at sunrise, the first snow we had seen became visible on the more distant hills. We viewed it not without anxiety, knowing the probable effects of frost and snow on the native troops and followers. This day, the second brigade, under Brigadier Stacey, joined General M'Caskill's force, and marched upon Istalif.

* See Sermon I.

27th. We removed our camp to Shere Sung on the east of Kabul. We pitched on the south side of the Jellalabad road, between parallel hills, in a dried-up salt marsh, covered thickly with a weedy sediment resembling cotton. Water was procurable throughout the camp, by digging pits from two to three feet deep, but it was excessively brackish and not drinkable. Good running water was to be had about half a mile nearer the town. On the opposite side of the road from our camp was a ruined cantonment first occupied by Lord Keane. General Pollock was encamped also on the Jellalabad road about three miles from the town. On the following day, Captain Bygrove, the last of the prisoners, was sent into camp by Ackbar Khan.

30th. News arrived of the taking of Istalif by General M'Caskill, and the death of Lieutenant Evans, H. M. 41st regiment.

October 1st. I went into the town, and, accompanied by Captain Boswell, 2nd regiment Bengal N. I., set forth to make inquiries respecting a small community of Armenian Christians, of whom I had heard from my friend the Reverend G. Pigott, who had baptized two of their children when he visited Kabul in 1839, as chaplain to the Bombay

army under Lord Keane. After some inquiry, we discovered them in a street in the Bala Hissar, leading from the Jellalabad Gate; their buildings were on the north side of the street. We went up an alley, and turned into a small court on the left, surrounded by buildings, and filled with the implements of their trade. A little door led from this court into their church, a small dark building, but on procuring lights, I found that it was carpeted, and kept clean, apparently with great care. Its aspect was due east to west, and an altar stood at the east end, surmounted by a small picture of a Holy Family, much dimmed by smoke and dust. Upon the altar were six candlesticks, two small crosses, and two copies of the Holy Gospels. In front, without the altar rails, was a small desk, on which lay a book of Daily Prayer, in Armenian. The altar was not against the wall, but had a space behind, and stood on a raised step. Our guides showed me a volume containing the gospels in Armenian, and another with the epistles, also a small English pocket Bible with clasps, Oxford edition, which I think was said to have been bought from an Hindoostanee. They stated that their body came into Affghanistan with Nadir Shah; that they were then two

hundred families, but were now reduced to four, comprising thirty-five persons, men, women, and children. They subsist by making Shiraz wine, and distilling spirits. They said they endured much from the Affghans, and were often subjected to heavy exactions; whether they have wealth or not it is impossible to say. The place wore an air of decent and respectable poverty; but the man and woman whom I saw were well dressed. If they are wealthy, which I think probable, they would be most unwise to make any show of it. I was much affected at finding this little dim spark of Christianity in the midst of such utter darkness, and earnestly prayed that it might be fanned by the breathing of the Holy Spirit to a bright and pure flame, which might enlighten the nations around. When they understood that I was a christian priest, the woman prostrated herself on the ground, and would have embraced my feet: this I endeavoured to prevent, and could I have spoken in her own tongue, would have addressed her in the words of St. Peter to the household of Cornelius, "Stand up, I also am a man." The man, whose Affghan name was Timour, was less enthusiastic. He clasped my hand in both his, and bowing down, pressed it first to

his lips, and afterwards to his forehead. They told me they had had no priest for thirteen years: that one had come from Hindoostan, and got as far as Peshawur, but was afraid to venture farther. It was highly interesting to hear from the lips of these Eastern Christians the names of our blessed Saviour, and his holy evangelists and apostles.

2nd, Sunday. To General Pollock's camp at half past six A. M., where we had a thanksgiving service, by request, for the late mercies of our God vouchsafed in the deliverance of the prisoners. H. M. 13th and 31st regiments infantry, H. M. 3rd light dragoons, and a troop of Bengal horse artillery, formed a large square. General Pollock, Sir R. Sale, and many officers who had been prisoners, were present. After morning prayers, in which our general thanks were returned, about forty men of H. M. 13th light infantry sang four verses of Psalm cvi., "O render thanks to God above," &c., and many of the congregation joined. It was set to a fine old church tune, the singing was very good, and, as the hills around re-echoed the pealing anthem the effect was overwhelming. It was many, many months since I had heard a psalm from any other voice than my own, and this was refresh-

ing indeed. When will the blessed period arrive, (it shall one day come,) when the hills and rocks of Affghanistan shall re-echo such sounds from every side; when "the mountain of the Lord's house shall be established in the top of the mountains, and shall be exalted above the hills, and all nations shall flow unto it?" (Isa. ii. 2.)

3rd. I went to the town by engagement to baptize some children of the Armenians, who had joyfully availed themselves of the opportunity afforded by the presence of a clergyman, for procuring their admission into the christian church by this holy sacrament. I was accompanied, on this occasion, by Major Stopford and Captains Macduff and Adamson, H. M. 40th regiment, and Captain Button, 2nd regiment Bengal N. I. On arriving at the Armenian church, I found them prepared, and a large vessel of lukewarm water placed in front of the altar. I baptized three children by immersion. The water I observed was transferred with great reverence to a large earthen jar, I presume to be be preserved as holy. After the service my friends wished to examine the picture, crosses, &c., on the altar, and asked whether they might be permitted to enter the rails. They were told that they

might, if they would divest themselves of their swords. These were immediately carried away by Timour and placed outside the door of the church. I was much struck with their deep reverence and love to the house of God. My friend Mr. Pigott told me that when he asked them why they remained at Kabul in the depressed state in which they were, they replied, "How can we leave our church?" After the sacrament of baptism had been administered, there was a little entertainment of tea and cakes in an upper room. Here I saw Sikunder (Alexander) and Miriam, the two children previously baptized by Mr. Pigott; they were remarkably pretty, and with very fair complexions; indeed, both children and adults were very handsome and had most expressive features. "Farewell," I thought as I rode away—"farewell, brethren in Christ—amidst much that may be ignorant and superstitious, there is a cleaving to christian ordinances, and a reverence for christian teachers, which encourages me to hope that there is a love to the Master, as well as to the house and the servants. We shall probably meet no more on earth, but I will indulge the hope of meeting you, where we shall no longer see through a glass darkly, but shall know even

as also we are known. May our one Lord, in whose one faith and one baptism we are united, watch over you and be your protector in the midst of the enemies of the cross of Christ, and cause that the blessed banner under which both you and I are enlisted, may speedily be unfurled as the sign by which the kingdoms of this world shall be subdued, and become the kingdoms of our God and of his Christ, that he may reign for ever and ever."

7th. General M'Caskill's force returned from Kohistan, having taken and detroyed Istalif and Charekar, with considerable loss of life to the enemy, and greater loss of property, a large amount of spoil being obtained. Poor Lieutenant Evans, H. M. 41st, was shot from a house in Istalif after the place was taken. Much has been said, both in the Indian and English journals, and in parliament, about the "brutalities and barbarities" committed in this expedition. I was not present, and therefore cannot speak from my own personal knowledge, nor am I at all disposed to maintain that it was free from the usual horrors accompanying warlike expeditions, which none can feel so deeply as those whose painful lot it is to witness them; but I am bound in justice to the officers and men of that force, to

declare my firm conviction, that the same shameless exaggeration and falsehood with which almost every operation of this campaign has been assailed, characterize the statements with regard to this also. Both from minute inquiries, and from familiar conversation with those present, at seasons when they were most unreserved, and least disposed to be on their guard, I am satisfied that all means were used for the protection of the women and children, and that, from the absence of liquor, the usual incentive to every evil in a siege or storm, the licence and devastation were far less, than in most of the military operations in the Peninsula and elsewhere, recorded in our annals. With respect to the destruction of orchards, &c., the remarks made with reference to Ghuznee will apply here. The Kohistan, I am told, is a district of more than forty miles, completely occupied by orchards and gardens; to those, therefore, who know anything of military matters, it will be quite obvious, that a small force, consisting of two not very strong brigades, having the necessary amount of camp duty to perform in an enemy's country, and only ten days wherein to march, to effect the purpose of their expedition, and to return, would be utterly unable to detach

a sufficient body of men, to effect, in such a time, the wholesale destruction with which they are charged; that a few orchards in the immediate vicinity of camp were injured is very probable, but more than this, I think not only unlikely, but, from the circumstances of the case, absolutely impossible.

8th. Was called up in the night by two officers from General Pollock's camp, who came to ask me to see Lieutenant Scott, H. M. 13th light infantry, who was supposed to be at the point of death from an abscess in the liver, and who wished to see me. They had with them an escort of the Bengal 1st cavalry. The night was bitterly cold and very dark. Found poor Mr. Scott very weak, but calm and collected. Slept in a neighbouring tent, and was with him again during the night. I found that he wished to speak to me on the subject of receiving the holy communion; had some conversation with him on the subject, and prayed with him for due preparation.

9th, Sunday. With Mr. Scott about seven A. M., and found him apparently much better. After prayer with him, rode to our own camp, and had divine service at eleven A. M. Returned afterwards to General Pollock's camp, and found so great a change for the worse in

Mr. Scott, that I feared he would not survive many hours; witnessed his will, and administered the holy communion, which appeared to give him much comfort. I was greatly gratified here, as I had often been before, to see the kind and brotherly attention, and the many little offices of friendship rendered to their sick comrade by the young officers of H. M. 13th. Those who only see a soldier in the glitter of gay society at home, have little conception of what he really is. It is in the field, in the absence of almost every comfort, in the face of disease and death, that his real character is developed, and exhibits, often in mere boys, a tenderness of heart, a delicacy of attention, and extent of self-denial, that would astonish and perhaps shame many of their seniors who are more happily situated.

In the afternoon we had service in the mess tent of H. M. 13th, where many of the ladies who had been liberated attended. I preached from Psalm cvii. 1, 2, on their late captivity and deliverance.* I passed the evening with Mr. Scott, and slept, as before, in a neighbouring tent.

This day, I regret to record, was selected for sending a working party into the town, to blow

* See Sermon II.

up and destroy the central building of the bazaar! This was the signal for European soldiers, sepoys, followers, all who could get away from camp, to commence plundering—a melancholy and disgraceful scene! Whether it could or could not have been prevented, by the proper exercise of decision and discipline on the part of the general, by whom I am fully persuaded that it was not approved, becomes not me to say. The following morning, as, in returning, I rode over the hill which separated the two camps, the city was blazing and smoking below me, and the fire spreading wider and wider.

11th. Our halt still continued, and every kind of disgraceful outrage was suffered to go on in the town. The shops were broken open and rifled; every sort of plunder was displayed and offered for sale in the lines of both camps, which were like a fair; and an utter disorganisation of the force appeared likely to ensue if this state of things were to continue; and this after a quiet halt of more than twenty days, and when we had replenished the commissariat supplies by the assistance of these poor people, who had returned to their shops upon an express proclamation of protection in the event of their doing so! In the meantime measures were taking for what was

called "settling the government." Futteh Jung having prudently determined to occupy the throne no longer than there were British bayonets to protect him, his younger brother, Shahpoor, was selected for the honour, and to him were handed over four six-pounder guns, with the East India Company's name on them, which Ackbar Khan had taken in the Bala Hissar, and we had re-taken from him.

The demolition of the bazaar was avowed to be an expression of national indignation at the dishonour there done to the remains of our murdered countrymen; and had the attendant excesses been avoided, it was perhaps the most lenient mode which could have been adopted for leaving an impression on a people not very accessible to the notion, that treachery and cruelty to the living, or insults to the dead, are matters of reproach. The Bala Hissar was spared, I presume, for the sake of the king whom we had set up, and as affording him his best chance of maintaining his unenviable seat. The disposal of the Dowrannee throne, doubtless, added something to the eclat of the expedition; but, to many, it appeared a dear purchase, at the cost of our four guns, which were but too likely to fall into hostile hands,

and to be hereafter regarded rather as monuments of our former reverses than of our recent triumph. The town having been thus sacked, and the government settled, we prepared to depart.

During the period of our halt at Kabul, I made a minute inspection of the ruined cantonments of General Elphinstone's force, read the journal of Captain Johnson, of the 26th Bengal N. I., a part of which has been given to the world, and conversed on the subject of their calamities with many of the prisoners, who, from their position, were most likely to have the means of forming a correct judgment. It is not my intention to enter into the discussion of this matter, as mine is strictly a personal narrative, and the grave has closed over those upon whom the chief responsibility rested; but I think all those who have had similar opportunities of judging, will agree with me in the opinion, that if those in command had displayed from the first that moderate degree of presence of mind and energy which might reasonably have been expected from them, neither the force of the enemy, nor the rigour of the season, could, humanly speaking, have produced such disastrous effects. They were, it would appear, in a great

measure self-destroyed, and, abstaining from all reproach of those who are gone, I would use this fearful incident in our national history as an incentive to humiliation, from the consideration of the ease with which, when God is determined to humble the pride of man, He can cause an undisciplined, disunited, and certainly not very courageous people, to confound the science, and arms, and discipline, and courage of the most distinguished nations of the earth. Happy will it be if, when vindictive feelings towards a base and cruel foe have subsided, the lesson be effectual to abate our overweening confidence in our own strength, and disregard of the just claims and interests of others—results by no means so apparent as they ought to have been, after every allowance for exaggeration and misstatement, as to the proceedings of our force in the hour of success and triumph.

CHAPTER X.

MARCH FROM KABUL TO PESHAWUR.

On October 12, 1842, we marched at eleven A. M., and joyfully turned our backs on the scene of former disgrace and present outrage. Arrived at General Pollock's camp, we found that their rear-guard had not left the ground; their camels became intermixed with ours, and great confusion ensued, especially at a river with a small bridge, and at a morass, crossed by a narrow causeway, about half a mile in length. Many camels were swamped, and much damage done to their loads. We were obliged to halt perpetually, and were six hours in marching eight miles! We encamped nearly two miles beyond Bootkhak; no mess-tent arrived, and consequently there was no dinner. By great good fortune all my kit came up safe in the course of the evening, and

I was able to give a night's lodging to a less favoured officer. The ground during the march was thickly strewn with the skeletons of the unfortunate sepoys and followers of General Elphinstone's force. I counted about seventy merely on that part of the road which I traversed; and this, too, was their first march! But they had been so reduced by living for two months on half and quarter rations, that many of them probably were totally incapable of marching even a few miles.

13th. A halt at Bootkhak. On leaving my tent in the morning, I found that we were upon the very spot where these poor people had encamped. The traces of their rowties and small tents (very few in number, for the greater part had been captured by the enemy) were distinctly visible. Many ghastly human remains lay around, and the ground was covered with tattered fragments of their clothing, &c. Gloves and socks, sepoys' hair-combs, broken china, all served to remind us of the misery and humiliation of our troops. I ardently longed to get beyond these deplorable indications of the evils of imbecility and indecision. The thermometer at four P. M. was seventy-four degrees in the shade.

14th. Marched at six A. M. through the Khoord Kabul;—a stupendous pass. The road is much better than that of the Bolan Pass, and less encumbered with stones. It is crossed again and again by the river, in the same manner as were the marches from Dadur to Beebee-nanee, but it is much narrower, and more closed in by hills and overhanging rocks, which, if defended, would be exceedingly dangerous, almost impossible to crown, and a cause of immense loss even to the most intrepid and well-organized force, with favourable weather. It will easily be conceived, therefore, what it must have been to the troops under General Elphinstone, starved dispirited, and disorganized; in the month of January; the ground deep in snow; and exposed to the fire of crowds of Afghans, who thronged the heights on both sides. The entrance to the pass would have formed a fine subject for Salvator Rosa. The sun had not risen, and the gorge looked dark, gloomy, and threatening. I was between the quarter-master general's party and the column, consequently there were but few people, and one or two officers scattered about. The craggy and fantastic rocks towered almost perpendicularly on both sides, many of them quite so, to

an enormous height. The foreground was occupied by the skeletons of the ill-fated troops, with the larger forms of camels and horses. The gray light of morning scarcely allowed the eye to penetrate the pass, which appeared entirely shut in. Large carrion-crows and vultures, with flagging wings, were soaring heavily overhead. As we entered, the ghastly memorials of past calamity became more and more frequent. It is impossible to estimate their numbers, but the ground through the whole length of the pass, about five miles, was cumbered with them. Some were gathered in crowds under rocks, as if to obtain shelter from the biting wind; we could conceive what it must have been in January, for such was the intensity of the cold, that we were almost all compelled to dismount and walk, to keep life in our limbs, and the water froze in icicles on the legs of the horses. I counted in one place twelve skeletons, huddled together in a little nook. Some, from their attitudes, appeared to be those of persons who had expired in great agony, probably from wounds. Most of them retained their hair, and the skin was dried on the bones, so that the hands and feet were little altered in form. Some were still covered with fragments

of clothing, and here and there the uniform was discoverable. The horse and his rider lay side by side, or men were seen clasped in each other's arms, as they had crowded together for warmth. One spot, where the pass was almost closed by rocks projecting from either side, was literally choked with the corpses of men, horses, and camels. It appeared as if a tremendous volley had been poured among them, or that the delay unavoidable in passing so narrow a gorge had caused them to drop from cold. A small ruined building, on the left of the road, was quite filled with dead bodies.

"Soon after entering the pass, we came upon the body of a Brahmin, who appeared to have been murdered during the previous night; the blood was yet fresh upon him, and his limbs, though stiffened by the frost, were untorn by birds or dogs. Almost all whom I saw in this pass were natives, clearly distinguishable by their long black hair. All around was horror, and I was strongly reminded of the accounts of the retreat of the French army from Moscow, to which, on a smaller scale, this bore a strong resemblance. I could have fancied some of these poor creatures still struggling in agonies. A "valley

of the shadow of death" it was indeed, and every one felt sensibly relieved when we emerged from it; but we vainly endeavoured during the day to throw off the painful feelings which so revolting a spectacle had excited.

15th. From Koord Kabul to Tezeen. A march of fourteen miles over, I think, as bad a road as can well be conceived. The first three or four miles were pretty good. We then came to a lofty black rock, fronting us as if it would stop the way, under which wound the river. We turned suddenly to the left, and passed the tomb of Zubbar, commemorated in some Persian lines, containing an execration upon it, which Major Leech translated to me. In these ravines the horrible scenes of the previous day were renewed. The bodies of the dead lay in heaps in every conceivable attitude. Some presenting a piteous resemblance of life, others expressive of great agony and the struggles of death. Some caves, on the right of the road, were quite full of these poor victims, who appeared to have crept there for shelter.

Thus we proceeded to the Huft Khotal, (the eight hills,) over which the road wound in eight successive sudden dips, formidable enough to horsemen, but dreadful for guns and bag-

gage. Dead camels lay thick on every side; mementos of the march of General Pollock's force on the previous day: fifty-seven dead and dying, and eight horses were counted. At a part of the road, where a mountain path led to a deep ravine to the right, the bodies of a Naick and five sepoys, showed that the rear-guard of the advanced force had been attacked; a little farther on was the murdered body of a Cossid, lying on his face with his throat cut, and at the descent of the hill lay two camel-men dreadfully mangled, while the grain and flour scattered about, indicated that their camels had been robbed and led off. At the foot of the hill, near a stream, was the body of a poor old Hindoo woman, similarly mangled, for these savages make no distinction of age or sex. We concluded, from their having left the bodies of the sepoys on the ground, that the preceding brigade must have been rather hard pressed.

The scene, in the midst of which we witnessed these sights of blood, was wild and picturesque in the extreme. Such a confusion of heights and hollows, such sheer precipices and ragged ravines, such infinite varieties of strata, that it seemed like the battle-field of the Giants in their wars with Jupiter, or the heaped-up

fragments of some former and ruined system. Use induces a dreadful familiarity with objects both of grief and terror, but if any one could have been suddenly transferred from the peaceful vales of England, to such a scene of blood and horror, how indelible must have been the impression produced by the contrast!

As we approached our encamping ground, we heard sharp firing, and soon saw the baggage of the advanced brigade (General M'Caskill's) slowly moving off, and their rear-guard maintaining a desultory contest with the enemy, who, in small parties, were watching on the heights for an opportunity of making a rush upon the spoil. They were speedily dislodged and dispersed by our pickets. The baggage came slowly dropping in, until night closed, and we became very anxious on account of the rear-guard, which consisted, I believe, of a part of the 42nd regiment, Bengal N. I., two other companies of sepoys, which had been detached on the line of march, and two of Captain Leslie's guns, under the command of Lieutenant Brett, the whole commanded by Captain Leeson, of the 43rd Bengal N. I. Just as we had finished dinner, at H. M. 40th mess, the regiment was ordered under arms, and all arose hastily. As I went

to my tent, however, I heard that they were countermanded, and hoped it was a false alarm.

Sunday, 16th. No Sunday, alas! to us. The savage region we were in had no sympathy with the suitable and happy employment of sabbath hours. We were moving by five A. M., on march to Seh Baba, seven miles. I awoke in the morning, thankful to God for the quiet night we had enjoyed in camp, little thinking of what had been passing in the Huft Khotal, and the dangers and losses of the rear-guard. The public despatch on this affair may I think be elucidated by the following account, given me by a field officer who was present though not in command, and which perfectly agrees with what I have heard in conversation from several other officers who were engaged.

Major Hibbert went out with a wing of H. M. 40th regiment, and two companies of H. M. 41st, under Captain Blackburn, followed, in charge of doolies and ammunition. They found Captain Leeson's rear-guard under heavy fire, and hard pressed. The grenadier company of H. M. 40th, under Lieutenant Wakefield, with a loud cheer, ascended the hill in front, from whence the enemy were

making their attack, and cleared it. Major Hibbert, with another company under Lieutenant E. White, then advanced and cleared two other hills, and recovered the body of a European artilleryman, which had been stripped by the enemy; this, and the other bodies, including those from General M'Caskill's brigade which we had seen in the morning, were then placed on camels, the wounded in doolies, and the party retired, the reinforcement forming the rear-guard. The loss was ten killed and forty-two wounded, total, fifty-two. It is stated in the depatch at sixty-one, but this includes the casualties on the rear-guard during the march to Seh Baba the next morning. Great praise was deservedly given to the officers present in this affair, especially Captain Leeson, commanding, and Lieutenant Brett, of the 1st troop of Bombay horse artillery.

Our march of to-day was better than that of yesterday, being shorter and more open, but the road was the bed of a torrent, much like that of the Bolan, full of large shingles, and dreadfully bad, both for camels and horses. The torrents, arising from the melting of the snow, had swept away most of the ghastly remains, but near our encamping ground was a

small round watch-tower, which those who entered and examined it said, was full of bodies, probably of persons congregated there for shelter, and frozen to death. There were supposed to be above two hundred, in and around it.

I arrived on the ground in advance of the column, and found, as on the previous day, the enemy on the heights, and following up the pickets of the preceding force, which were just retiring. I watched them for some time with my glass, and observed the adroitness with which both they and the retiring party took advantage of every projection which afforded shelter. The enemy were a long way off, and though many shots were fired, I could not observe that any mischief was done.

This morning Lieutenant Chamberlayne, of the Shah's irregular horse, had a very narrow escape while on rear-guard. He was shot at about an inch from the spine; the ball penetrated his posteen and clothes, making a slight wound and deep contusion. I saw him on horseback the next morning, and he said that he felt but little pain.

At half-past four P. M., we assembled for divine service, and I preached from Matt. vi.

31—33. During service the enemy were firing constantly on parties in the rear, and the smoke of their matchlocks was distinctly visible through the doors of the mess-tent. We were now so used to this occurrence that I believe scarcely any one noticed it; but reflecting on it afterwards, I could not but think how strange and unaccountable our indifference would appear to those who had never been placed in similar circumstances.

17th. Marched at the usual hour to Kutty Sung, five miles. The effects of these marches were becoming every day more visible on our poor camels, and other baggage cattle. The road this day was much like that over the Huft Khotal, only not so long. Such ups and downs I never saw before. About a mile from camp, below the road, lay the body of an unfortunate man with his throat dreadfully mangled. This poor fellow had a little black dog sitting by him and watching him, which snapped at and resisted every one who attempted to remove it. How much kinder are even the brute creation than man in his fallen state! Many of our finest camels this day became so foot-sore that they lay down under their burdens, and were obliged to be

abandoned. The loss of the preceding force must have exceeded one hundred, and ours, I dare say, was not less.

This morning we received the Governor-General's order, awarding six months' batta, and a medal to the troops, which diffused very general gratification. A camp in a wild hilly country like this, is extremely picturesque, whether by day or night. Towering hills, of various forms and distances, surround it on every side. On the ridge of each is seen, by day, a bristling line of piled arms of the out-lying picket, the men sitting in groups or strolling along the ridge of the hills; as the sun declines, the same ridges are occupied with lines of sentries, relieved against the horizon; after dark, little bright fires light up all around, and down in the hollows the voice of mirth and laughter is loud and general, till at last all sinks into silence, and the sound of the gongs striking the hour, the occasional challenge of a sentry, or the change of guard, are the only sounds which meet the ear, except those universal nuisances of a camp, the bray of asses and the bark of pariar dogs. It seems scarcely credible that from such a sleeping host the sound of a drum would, in five minutes or less, turn out thou-

sands of men appointed for the field. All is still, if there be no alarm or attack, till the appointed hour, when a single bugle gives its shrill note from the adjutant-general's tent; the summons is taken up and repeated by bugles and drums from corps to corps; all spring into life and activity; tents are struck, camels are loaded, horses saddled, men fall in, and a very short time leaves the hills and the hollows as still and desolate as before.

18th. To Jugdulluk, seven miles. The road presented the same hilly aspect as before but not quite so stony; dreadful work for the poor camels. On the afternoon of the previous day, I had burnt several books, boxes, &c., and used every means to reduce my kit. One convenience of life was relinquished after another,—there was no help for it. I did not at all expect that the whole of my camels would come in to-day, for some were very weak, and all wearied; however, they managed it, though with great difficulty.

The preceding force had entirely left the ground when we reached it, but the heights were occupied by small parties of our persecuting enemies, and the distant fire of matchlocks, and the booming of heavy guns, announced that they were harassing General M'Caskill's

rear-guard. We saw very few skeletons, till we came to a very steep ascent, just before entering the camp. Here were some ruined walls, where the remains of the ill-fated force had evidently taken up a position, I believe the last, though a few stragglers penetrated farther, and some almost within sight of Jellalabad. The ground was strewed with dead bodies, perhaps one hundred, nearly all Europeans, clearly distinguishable by the light short hair, and the fairness of the skin, which was dried upon the bones. These, I imagine, were the last remains of H. M. 44th, and the horse artillery. There were several horses, and one body lying by a horse was plainly that of an officer, from the length of the hair which waved from the head, the privates and non-commissioned officers having their hair cut short by regulation. From hence it was that General Elphinstone went, by invitation, to treat with Ackbar Khan, and was treacherously made prisoner.

19th. From Jugdulluk to Skuck-ab. This was said to be thirteen miles, but it appeared much longer to me, perhaps, because I was rather unwell. Before leaving Jugdulluk our two remaining 18-pounders were blown up, two had previously been destroyed at Khoord

Kabul, by General Pollock; this was a great relief to the men, as the gun bullocks were so completely knocked up, that the men had had to drag these guns the greater part of the way. The first part of the road from Jugdulluk was a very steep ascent, with much cover of brush-wood on both sides, and the remains of an abattis thrown up by the enemy on the retreat of the Kabul force, but we experienced no molestation here. The road turned and wound along a steep chain of hills, and at last brought us into a valley, through which the stream rushed rapidly. The hills on the right were low and unimportant, but on the left they rose boldly, and on a strip of table land, at about half their height, sat two or three men firing at the quarter-master's party who were laying out the camp. They were soon driven off.

The rear-guard to-day had very sharp work; it was under the command of Major Simmonds, and consisted of H. M. 41st regiment, and a company of H. M. 40th, under Lieutenant Carey; two or three men were killed, and Lieutenant M'Gowan, of H. M. 40th, received a dangerous shot through the thigh, from which, and the sickness which followed it, he was long confined.

20th. From Shuck-ab to Gundamuck,

seven miles. The road was much more open, and the rear-guard had no annoyance; on the contrary, they had the advantage, and several of their opponents were killed. Arrived at Gundamuck, we found General M'Caskill's division, and a plentiful supply of bhoosa; here we descended into a plain, with so much verdure, that it seemed like a paradise compared with the region we had left. On the right was the Suffaed Koh, whose snowy peaks formed a magnificent termination to the view; on the left, the ruined cantonments of one of our regiments formerly quartered there; in front all appeared flat and open. It is curious to notice how circumstances change our ideas. I have always been an enthusiastic admirer of mountain scenery, and little thought the time would ever come when a flat country would have the preference; but to visit mountains in Wales or Switzerland is quite a different thing from passing through them bristling with matchlocks, and strewed with the dead bodies of one's fellow creatures and fellow countrymen. A flat plain, where we can see our enemies, and meet them fairly, seems here to possess an advantage which counterbalances all others. Here I received, to my great joy, a large packet of letters, some from friends in

India, and others, still more precious, from old England. None but those who have been, as we were, cut off for several months from all communication, can conceive the exquisite satisfaction which these letters gave me.

21st. A halt, to the great relief both of man and beast, after eight days continued marching through so rugged a country. During the night one of my camels was either stolen or allowed to stray, a great loss under our circumstances. Two Ghazees were killed by the sentries during the night, and many shots fired into camp.

22nd. A short march of five miles to a celebrated garden, called Neemlah. We were leaving the hills farther and farther in distance, and they now formed only magnificent boundaries to a wide plain. The roseate tints upon the white peaks of the Suffaed Koh, at sunrise, were peculiarly beautiful. Here, while encamped upon some low, undulating rocky hills, my servants caught a very delicate species of small partridge, peculiar to these elevations; the beauty of its grey-speckled plumage, and the brilliancy of its eye, with the whole contour, were very pleasing. I gave it to an officer of the 42nd N. I., who was a great collector of birds.

Sunday, 23rd. From Neemlah to Futtehabad, eight miles. We were not yet free from our persevering enemy. The rear-guard had some sharp skirmishing with them this day, and a man of H. M. 41st was badly wounded. Service at half-past four P. M.; text, Luke xviii. 14—not a very good congregation. The place were we pitched was pretty, and the hill scenery around splendid; but the ghastly remains of two dead men, the one murdered, and the other appearing to have dropped from disease and weakness, reminded us that we were not yet in the land of security.

24th. A march of eight miles, to Sultanpore. Poor Captain Ravenscroft, of the 3rd Bombay light cavalry, died this morning. Every one thought he was recovering from the effects of the wound received at Oba, and his death at last was rather sudden.

This day, about fifteen of the enemy were killed by the rear-guard. They follow, with amazing pertinacity, wherever there is a chance of plunder. They must also have been lurking very near the camp during the night, for while we were assembled at Captain Ravenscroft's funeral, two very fine troopers of the 3rd cavalry, who had gone unarmed to fetch

water, about a hundred yards in advance of the quarter guard, were murdered, the one shot, the other cut down. They were very imprudent in venturing even so short a distance, but being Brahmins, they objected to the water brought by the Bheestie, as it was carried in leathern vessels made from the hide of the cow, which they are forbidden to use. These painful occurrences, which happened almost daily, made us ardently long for the day when we should be fairly out of this land of blood.

25th. March of seven miles to Jellalabad, the scene of the gallantry and sufferings of Sir R. Sale and his brave garrison. The fort of Jellalabad had nothing remarkable in its appearance. The walls had been almost rebuilt, and rendered very strong, by the intrepid garrison, and the gateway by which I entered was very strongly retrenched, and had an inner drawbridge. A mine was prepared under each of the bastions, and several others along the curtains, preparatory to its utter destruction. The scenery around the river, with the lines of gardens on its banks, and snow-capt mountains on which the clouds were frequently resting, was very beautiful; but it has one great drawback, viz. the fre-

quency of earthquakes. Not many days pass without some indications of this kind. We had rather a severe one on this day. I was lying on a couch, and the sensation was like that of a barge grounding on a sand-bank.

During the march from Kabul, we had, at different times, received government general orders, on the successes of the troops, and the honours, medals, &c., designed for them; but I was this day more highly gratified to see, by a letter from Lord Ellenborough to the chaplains throughout the diocese of Calcutta, that public and solemn thanksgivings were to be paid to the only giver of all victory, the God of armies.

26th. A halt. A quiet day, but a miserable night: the sky was lowering all the evening, and after sunset a tremendous storm of wind rendered it difficult to keep up the tents, and we were almost choked with dust. This day several camels were lost. The camel-men, who will not take warning, or attend to orders, went with their beasts to the opposite side of the river, that they might plunder while the camels were feeding. They were, of course, attacked, and some killed. Chamberlayne, who was always ready for action,

went out with a hundred of the shah's irregular horse, followed the enemy nearly eight miles, recovered twenty-two camels, and killed nine of their men. There was much firing during the night. This day the 2nd Bengal regiment N. I., and Captain Blood's battery, returned to our force, having been for a time detached with General M'Caskill's brigade. The destruction of Jellalabad by the explosion of the mines was proceeding.

27th. Halt continued. A miserably wet night, which, however, did not prevent a continual blaze of firing between the enemy and our own sentries.

28th. We were compelled still to halt, in consequence of the storm of the night; the day proved sunny, and our tents were nearly dried, but at night the rain came on again as badly as ever. During the morning the grazing guard were fired upon by the enemy, and two of Christie's sowars wounded, and one killed. I saw the body of this poor fellow as it was brought in on a pallet. This kind of petty and detail warfare was most harassing. It had none of the excitement of action, but every day we were shocked by some such spectacle or tale as this, and every night were

annoyed by a continual firing, though the latter at length became so common that we scarcely noticed it.

29th. A march of five miles to Ali Boghan. Though so short, the rear-guard was long in coming up, on account of a reedy swamp through which the camels were obliged to pass singly, and in which many of them fell, owing to their slippery footing. We started at two o'clock P. M. The cavalry on the rear-guard, which was commanded by Major Simmonds, H. M. 41st regiment, managed, by a stratagem, to come to close quarters with the plunderers, who continually hung on our rear. A squadron of 3rd cavalry, under Lieutenant Graves, and a party of Christie's horse, under Lieutenant Chamberlayne, concealed themselves behind a ruined fort, while the enemy followed up the baggage in considerable numbers, advancing into the plain under an idea that the whole rear-guard had retired. At an appointed signal the cavalry charged, and their opponents, after a slight resistance, during which Lieutenant Graves's horse was wounded, fled precipitately, with the loss of from one hundred and fifty to two hundred killed.

Sunday, 30th. Started at four A. M. for

Charek-ab, ten miles. Lieutenant Travers, of Skinner's horse, on the rear-guard, put in practice the device of the previous day—concealing his men—and killed nine of the enemy. During this march we saw three poor creatures, two murdered by these savages, and one who appeared to have died from disease. At half-past four assembled for divine service in H. M. 40th mess tent. Text, 1 Sam. xv. 22.

31st. March of ten miles to Bursole, without incident.

Nov. 1st. At six A. M. marched to Dukka, eleven miles. For about two miles from Bursole, the road was wide and good; it then became very narrow, and wound round high rocks to the right, with a deep swamp to the left, so that only one camel could pass at a time. Along the road, in many parts, were low hills on the right and left, with ravines, affording much cover to marauders. In this way we arrived at the mouth of the Khoord Khyber, a narrow pass, with high rocks on either side. At its entrance lay a dead man, who had been shot. He appeared to be a native of the country, but, if so, it is singular that he should have been all night unburied. About half-way through this gorge was a tall

pointed rock to the right, with a watch-tower on the summit, which commanded both sides of the pass. The road beyond this became extremely narrow; several large pieces of rock appeared to have rolled down into it, probably from the force of earthquakes. The passage here was nearly choked up by the dead camels of the preceding brigades, and the stench from them was insufferable. From this pass we emerged into a beautiful and fruitful valley, and pitched on a plain of green turf by the broad and rapid river, with Lalpoora and other forts on the opposite side. While my tent was being pitched, I strolled to the river's brink, and enjoyed, with as much zest as I had done when a schoolboy, a game of duck and drake with an officer of H. M. 40th regiment, a pleasing variety from " those vile guns."

On the following day we halted at Dukka, and were joined by the 16th regiment, N. I., which had been attached for a time to General Pollock's force.

On Nov. 3rd we marched what appeared to us an exceedingly long nine miles, to Lundi-Khaneh. The road was good and level, but the hills on both sides strong and capable of defence, and in many places remarkably bold and picturesque. The heights were crowned

by jussaelchees, a sort of irregulars of the country in British pay. Their wild appearance, perched on the heights, added much to the effect of the landscape, and their presence saved our troops a great deal of fatigue; but if we had been defeated and flying, instead of victorious, I dare say we should have found them among the foremost of our assailants. We pitched in a narrow defile, with large stones, very much like Ser-i-bolan, in the Bolan Pass. On the top of the heights, to the right, was an old fort of great extent, which, like all the old buildings of which no authentic account can be given, is called Alexander's Fort.

4th. Marched from Lundi-Khaneh to Ali Musjid, about fourteen miles. This was undoubtedly the strongest pass I had seen. Indeed, it seems difficult to conceive anything stronger; and every one who has seen it, and the country generally between it and Kabul, will give to General Pollock that high meed of praise to which he is most fully entitled, for bringing his force so gallantly through such obstacles. We left Lundi-Khaneh by a road cut in the face of the rocky hills. The ascent was moderate, and great labour had been expended in widening and strengthening vari-

T. Thomas from a drawing by the Revd. J. N. Allen.

Engd. Hodges Lith. to the Queen.

FORT AND VALLEY OF ALI MUSJID.

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ous parts which had given way; so that it was really a very fine road, but narrow, and only admitting one camel to pass at a time. On the left were lofty and almost inaccessible rocks, towering high over head; on the right, rapid, and in many places almost perpendicular descents, over which, if any unfortunate camel lost footing, he was obliged to be rolled—there was no alternative, for every such impediment completely stopped the way.

Views of wild, rocky, and mountainous scenery opened from time to time: the villages on the heights, perched almost like eagles' nests, were exceedingly striking, and the picturesque appearance of the various arms of the force, as we looked back and saw them winding up the face of the hills, was most interesting; but it was awful to think of the effect that might be produced upon advancing troops by artillery on higher parts of the road. I conceive, that if these passes were in the possession of a disciplined enemy, it would be utterly impossible to force them. Near the ridge of the hill, in a nullah below the road, lay the Khazee, a large brass gun from Jellalabad, which General M'Caskill's brigade had been unable to bring on. General Nott was also, I

believe, ordered to bring it, but possessed no spare cattle for the purpose. It was finally blown up and destroyed by a party after our rear-guard had passed. I was amazed that they had been able to bring it so far, for it was upon a native carriage of the roughest and most unwieldy construction, and I wondered, since General Pollock contemplated taking it to India, that he had not preserved one of the carriages of the eighteen-pounders which he destroyed at Khoord Kabul for this purpose; but, probably, he had not cattle sufficient for a spare team when at Khoord Kabul.

We now proceeded along a narrow road, with high rocky hills, and terrible positions for annoyance on both sides, during its whole length. The road was thickly strewed with the murdered followers of the previous brigades, fearful objects, lying here and there, stripped and mangled, and some already partially devoured by dogs and birds of prey. Among them were two native women, one young and well looking. These sights from day to day made one's heart ache; but I am perfectly convinced that they would not be half so frequent if it were not for the infatuated folly of these poor creatures, which leads them either to go on in advance or drop behind, as impa-

tience or indolence may influence them, with a pertinacity which no vigilance can prevent. We passed on the left a singular building, erected with great skill on the top of an isolated hill, in form like a dome upon a large square plinth. It was built apparently of the slaty stone of the country, in regular layers, and in its general appearance was much like the Tope at Muneekyala, in the Punjab, but smaller. There was no opportunity of sketching it; for, as we passed close beneath, it was discovered to be possessed by a strong party of matchlock men, and the light company of H. M. 41st, under Lieutenant de Blacquier, was sent up to clear it, but recalled under the idea that they were jussaelchees in our pay. It was afterwards found that they were Khyberees, whom he would probably have intercepted and cut off. They did not fire, but reserved themselves for the baggage and the shades of evening.

We advanced till the road widened into a little plain, thickly studded with trees, bushes, and underwood, with a wide gorge opening to the left, near the village of Lalla Beg. Here the number of dead bodies was so large, many of them being sepoys, and one recognised by his uniform as a man of the 33rd N. I.,

that we were led to suppose there had been a skirmish, which proved but too true. The enemy had made a rush upon them in the dark, had killed two officers, Captain Christie and Ensign Nicholson, and captured two mountain guns, of which one, and the two carriages, were afterwards recovered. Two light companies were left on this spot for the security of the baggage. A little farther on, I met poor Mr. Nicholson, 27th regiment N. I., who had just learned that his brother was one of those who had fallen, and was returning, with two troopers of the 3rd light cavalry, in search of the body. It was found, and I buried him at the end of the march, amidst the agonizing grief of his brother, and the sympathetic sorrow of every officer present. Poor Nicholson! After a long imprisonment and ill-treatment at Ghuznee, to be deprived, by a violent death, of the brother whom he had just met, and that at the very close of the campaign, was indeed a dark cloud over the outset of life.

I counted thirty-one bodies on the path by which I came. Many saw more, for they were thickly strewn on the right and left. We now came to a running stream, where the gorge was exceedingly narrow, and almost

closed; indeed, the rocks so overhung the pathway, that the gloom was fearful and oppressive. It is impossible, by description, to convey any adequate idea of it. At length we emerged into a valley through which ran the river, and in which we were to encamp. The hills rose high and rugged to the right and left. At the end by which we entered was a conical hill, on whose summit stood the fort of Ali Musjid, very commanding in position, but, like many other forts in this country, itself commanded from a neighbouring hill. A small musjid of white chunam was just below it, beside the road. At the other end, the valley was almost closed by a projecting rocky hill, on the top of which was a tall, narrow, circular watch-tower. A few camels belonging to officers of the staff had been fortunate enough to get forward with those of the general, and here and there a solitary tent soon reared its head. One of these officers, Lieutenant Studdert, of the Bombay engineers, kindly supplied me with breakfast, and shelter from the sun. From about eleven A. M., when we arrived, till four P. M., no camels made their appearance. Considerable apprehensions were entertained of some untoward event, and the 16th regiment

N. I., was sent out at three P. M. to reinforce the rear-guard. About five P. M. a few camels began to arrive; and happy I was to find mine, with all my poor servants, safe. The baggage-cattle continued dropping in all night, and allowed us but little sleep.

5th. A halt. This was indispensable; for the rear-guard, H. M. 40th regiment, was not in camp till 7 A. M., up to which time multitudes of camels had continued to pour in. These poor beasts had been standing under their loads, without food, for twenty-six hours! Of course multitudes fell, and many were carried off by the enemy. They had made an attack near the spot in which they had previously attacked General M'Caskill's rear-guard, but, happily, not with the same fatal success, though they obtained a good quantity of plunder. Two men of H. M. 40th were, however, severely wounded by Khyberee knives, and both died of their wounds, though it was at first hoped that they would recover. During the evening, a part of the fort of Ali Musjid was blown up, and Captain Corser, commanding, imprudently exposing himself, had his leg broken and severely lacerated by a stone thrown up by the explosion. The remainder was destroyed after the rear-guard had passed to a safe distance

on the following morning, and I was told that it was done so effectually that scarcely a vestige remained. Heavy firing continued, and the Khyberees were closely lurking around the pickets all night.

Sunday, 6th. March from Ali Musjid to Futtehghur. The Khyberees, who appeared a much bolder race than any we had previously seen, were collected on the hills in such numbers, that it was apprehended they meditated an attack on the rear-guard; nor was this apprehension unfounded. As we wound up the mountain road which led out of the valley of Ali Musjid, the firing from the various pickets was very general, and we could see on an opposite hill a hundred or more Khyberees in possession of a sunga, from which they maintained a rapid fire on a picket of native infantry. Five or six men advanced skirmishing, from the main body of the picket. On this the Khyberees made a rush on them from the sunga, and they fell back on the main body, which advanced. It was then the turn of the Khyberees to run, which they did precipitately, though from an inferior number, only, however, to turn again and rally. At this moment a turn of the road hid the combatants

from our sight; another turn, and we saw a company ascending to the support of the picket, on which the Khyberees fled in every direction. The winding of the road prevented our seeing more; but this kind of skirmishing went on in the rear for the whole length of the march; and our gallant friend Terry, of the Bombay artillery, was mortally wounded by a ball in the chest. Lieutenant Chamberlayne, of the shah's irregular horse, also received, just as he was emerging from the pass, a ball through the leg—the sixth and most severe wound he had sustained—and by one of the very last shots fired during the campaign.

Our route was mountainous and narrow, but perfectly accessible, and the road good under foot. Proceeding, we came to a great work, which, I doubt not, will be long remarked as a memento of our rule in Affghanistan. A deep rocky dell, down which the only path had been an almost precipitous watercourse, was now traversed on the right side by a capital road of easy descent, cut out of the solid rock in some places, built up in others, and protected from the effects of winter torrents by large under drains. The sight of such a work of art in the midst of such a sa-

vage region was very pleasing, and recalled the Irish distich on Marshal Wade's roads in the highlands:

"If you had but seen these roads before they were made,
You'd have held up your hands, and blessed General Wade!"

Towards the end of this road we turned an angle of the rock, and came in sight of the wide plains of the Punjab, extending to the horizon. At sight of this, the sepoys of the light companies, who were in front, set up a deafening cheer; and most fully did we all participate in their joy. By degrees we cleared the hills, and came down upon the Sik fort of Futtehghur, leaving Jumrood to the right. Men were sitting by the road-side, selling grain and sweetmeats, and, when we pitched our camp, women were soon crying milk in the lines. These were strange sights to us, who had been for months without seeing a human being, except as an enemy. All around tended to remind us of India; and our hearts expanded with joy and gratitude at our return to a comparatively friendly region, emotions only dashed by the thought of our friends and the troops on rear-guard, and the casualties that might be there taking place. At half-past four P. M. my accustomed congre-

gation assembled in the mess tent of H. M. 40th; and I endeavoured to give utterance and form to our feelings of joy, and to direct them to a right channel, from Psalm ciii. 17, 18.

7th. We marched seven miles to Kwolsir, and encamped near a ruined tope. On the following day I was with Lieutenant Terry, at his request, and found him in a very dangerous state, and fully persuaded that his wound was mortal. I sat a considerable time with him, and our conversation was such as one desires under such solemn circumstances. On the 9th, at about eight in the morning, as I was preparing to go to his tent, a servant came with a message that he wished to see me. I hastened on, but was met halfway by Dr. Baxter, who told me that I was too late, that he had spoken very kindly of me, and of the comfort he had received from my previous visit, and had requested that I might be sent for, but died almost with the request on his lips. I buried him in the evening, amidst a large attendance of officers, among whom the universal feeling was that the service had lost one of its most gallant, zealous, and talented ornaments.

12th. Marched from Kwolsir round the city

of Peshawur, and encamped about four miles and a half on the other side. The hospitality of General Avitabile, the governor of Peshawur, under the Maharajah of the Punjab, was unbounded. He kept open house on a magnificent scale, and every day large parties of officers were breakfasting, lunching, dining, and supping in his princely mansion, where every luxury of the table was spread in profusion. Meanwhile the force was moving off day by day in distinct brigades, of which General Nott's first and second brigades formed the rear, as indeed they had done from Kabul.

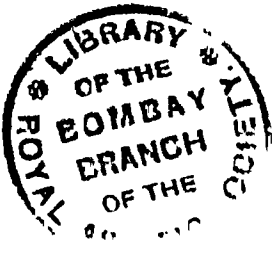
Sunday, 13th. Preached in the morning to the troops from Psalm cvii. 6, 7.*

14th. At nine A. M. I breakfasted with General Avitabile. About forty guests were present. The general, who had been out for a morning drive, returned in a carriage drawn by four mules, with a large retinue running on foot, one of whom carried an immense umbrella over his head. He is a tall, stout, elderly man, exceedingly affable. The house formed one side of a large quadrangle; on the opposite side were sleeping apartments over the gateway; the whole was surrounded by

* See Sermon III.

an embattled wall with ramparts, having bastions at the corners, and a few brass guns. The breakfast was excellent, and laid in a noble dining-room with columns, in length about one hundred and twenty feet, and handsomely decorated in native style. I was surprised to find, among the portraits and pictures in the drawing-room, a very good print of Lord Eldon. General Avitabile kindly supplied us with an escort to show us the town and its curiosities. It had not much to exhibit. The streets were wide and clean, and the bazaars good. There was a strong fort, or bala hissar, into which we were not permitted to enter. The environs of the town were rendered disgusting by the numbers of gibbeted criminals who met the eye in every direction. These, with the manner and tone adopted by the guards, led me to suppose that the general's rule was marked with great severity; but I believe he has the character of a just ruler, and can easily concieve, what he himself states, that without severe examples he could not maintain his position. One singular plan I observed: viz., that from the back of his house a box like a letter-box was lowered by a chain into the street. Above it was an inscription in the native tongue, to the effect that whoever had

any grievance or petition should drop it into this box; it was drawn up at night, and the contents submitted to the general's consideration, who kept the key himself.



CHAPTER XI.

CONCLUSION.

I HAVE but little to add to my narrative. The military part of our adventures was now over, and the march across the Punjab has been frequently described by authors who have had a much more extended acquaintance with the country, its productions, and antiquities, than I can pretend to possess. I confess I was rather disappointed in it, and did not perceive, in that portion through which our route lay, anything of that exuberant fertility which I had heard ascribed to it.

The inhabitants are a fine athletic race, and exhibit much substantial comfort in their dress and villages. They were remarkably civil to us, with which probably our numbers and successes in Affghanistan had much to do; for I heard, both from officers who had

come up with General Pollock at the period of our reverses in Kabul, and from those who had previously conducted convoys, that their conduct was then very different.

On the 18th of November, we crossed the Attok by a commodious bridge of boats. The town, of the same name, had a substantial wall of solid masonry, the appearance of which was highly respectable, after the erections of mud to which we had been so long accustomed.

November 26th. We encamped near Muneekyala, and I got a sketch of the extraordinary tope, which is fully described in Mr. Elphinstone's work.

On the 1st of December, we arrived at Rhotas, on the right bank of the Kasee. The walls of this city, now in ruins, are very extensive, and consist of some of the finest masonry I have seen. The gates are very beautiful in an architectural point of view. The place appeared to have suffered much, either from earthquakes or the undermining effects of the stream, or perhaps from both combined; many parts of the walls displayed large fissures, and some bastions were thrown down, but still retained their form while prostrate on the ground.

On the 2nd and 3rd of December we crossed the Jhelum by boats, happily without accident, and on the 8th of December crossed the Chenab in a similar manner.

The 15th brought us to the Ravee, which we crossed also by boat, and on the 22nd arrived on the right bank of the Sutlej, which had been previously crossed by Sir R. Sale's brigade, and the remainder of Major-General Pollock's force.

I must not dismiss this portion of our route without some notice of the manner in which it has been misrepresented; both the march through the passes, and that across the Punjab, have been set forth as "a flight;" as more like the retreat of a defeated army, than the dignified retirement of a victorious force; as likely to render us contemptible in the eyes of the Siks, and to lower our national reputation, &c. &c.

I cannot blame persons at a distance for believing statements said to be made by eye-witnesses, and those of high respectability, but must condemn the Indian newspapers for the reckless manner in which they inserted every idle report that came to them, however injurious to the public service, or to private character; nor can terms too strong be used

in reprobation of those anonymous slanderers, whose only object appeared to be to utter calumnies against their companions in arms. That the march was a rapid one will not be denied; its wisdom or necessity I am in no way concerned to prove; that it was exceedingly harassing to the sick and wounded I am perfectly aware; but that it was made with any unmilitary precipitation or confusion, or that it led to any disorganisation of the force, the condition and appearance of the men and cattle who entered Ferozepore direct from that march, in the sight of crowds of spectators, without halt or refit, will abundantly disprove. The truth is, that the force was infested by some unworthy and unwearied scribblers—I think not many, for the letters were all in the same style of coarse vulgarity — who poured forth a series of inventions and exaggerations such as, it is to be hoped, no force was ever subjected to before, or will be again. With them, a skirmish on rear-guard was a defeat; a rapid march was a flight; a slight epidemic was a kind of pestilential disease; a misunderstanding was an act of mutiny; this individual or corps was accused of cowardice, and that atrocious crimes, with a wantonness which none would have dared to display but

an anonymous and concealed detractor. I can state confidently, with regard to that portion of the force with which I was, and I have no doubt the same may be said with regard to the rest, that under all the circumstances, such a march could scarcely have been made with greater comfort; and I can assure my readers, that no persons could be more astonished at these statements, than those who were upon the spot, the officers of the force themselves, who first became aware from the Indian papers, that they were flying, defeated, exhausted, diseased, and disorganised, when they had in their simplicity supposed themselves to be the very reverse.

When we arrived at the right bank of the river, we could perceive in the distance some gay erections and floating pennons, which announced the preparations that had been made for the triumphal entrance of the troops, and on the morning of the 23rd, at about half-past eight A. M. prepared for this exhibition, though feeling little fitted to face the splendours of the governor-general and his suite, since

> "Our gayness and our gilt was all besmirched
> With rainy marching in the painful field."

However, forth we set, and in due time arrived at a noble bridge of boats, decorated with the colours of "the ribbon of India," red, yellow, and blue. At the farther end we passed under a kind of canopy of the same colours, ornamented at the top with flags. On leaving this we entered a long and glittering street formed of native cavalry, at the head of which were the governor-general, the commander-in-chief, and multitudes of aides-de-camp, &c., composing their staff, in every variety of uniform, and ladies upon enormous elephants, with howdahs richly caparisoned; crimson and yellow were the prevailing colours, the latter distinguishing the numerous Sik troops who were present. His lordship and General Nott cordially saluted in passing, but there was no halt for more than an instant. When we arrived at the end of the street of cavalry, Lieutenant Nelson, assistant-commissary-general, and myself, turned our horses, and riding down the rear of the cavalry, returned to the bridge, and saw the whole force march past. They certainly, both Europeans and natives, looked most soldierly and service-like, and all the spectators whose sentiments we heard, seemed struck with their appearance. It was really

wonderful that troops, many of whom had been four years in the field, with very scanty and irregular supplies from India, on account of the difficulty of carriage, could have had their clothing and accoutrements in such order. It is true there was many a patch, and that not always precisely of the proper colour, but there were no rags; and there was throughout a noble and gallant bearing in the men, which far more than made amends for every deficiency in outward decoration. After the troops had passed, I was sorry to observe some child-like parade with the old gates of Soomnaut, as to which I would merely remark, after the full attention directed to them in other quarters, that I became aware with sincere regret, of Lord Ellenborough's line of policy, if such it can be called, with respect to them, conceiving it both unwise and unbecoming the representative of a christian nation, calculated rather to excite the ridicule of reflecting natives, than to conciliate their regard, which was its only imaginable object, and painfully at variance with that devout acknowledgment of God's providence and goodness which had generally characterised his lordship's proclamations. The measure was the more to be regretted as it gave occasion

to those who unreasonably sought it, to detract from the real merits of the governor-general in the direction of the campaign, which were great and brilliant, and such as to entitle him to the lasting gratitude of his country.

We now proceeded to the spot which had been marked out for our camp, about four miles from the river, where our weather-beaten and travel-stained tents formed a strange contrast to the dazzling white and gaily-adorned encampments of the governor-general, the commander-in-chief, and the army of reserve. I believe many of the ladies rode down our lines to see and wonder at the miserable habitations in which men *could* live when compelled by necessity.

Nor were the men without their comments on the unaccustomed blaze of splendour around them. As an aide-de-camp of the governor-general was passing, resplendent in crimson, gold lace, and plumes;—"Ah Jack," said a man of the 40th, "that chap has never come through the Khyber, that's quite evident;" a sufficient indication of the honourable light in which their present inferiority of equipment was regarded.

In the evening, at seven P. M., General Nott, his staff, the officers commanding corps,

and the regimental staff, sat down to a magnificent dinner, in a still more magnificent tent of the governor-general. These tents exceeded anything of the kind which I had previously imagined. Their several parts could only be conveyed by elephants, and indeed, the upper fly or roof of one of them, which I believe divides down the middle for convenience of carriage, is a heavy load to one of these huge creatures. I do not know that I can better convey an idea of their size, than by stating that on this occasion above one hundred persons sat down to dinner, not as I have seen elsewhere, in a long, narrow, disproportioned erection, capable of being continued to any length by successive additions, but in a well-proportioned room, with tables round three sides, an ample area in the middle, and passage round the back for the servants. The vast tabernacle was splendidly lighted and carpeted, and the whole effect was exceedingly good. His lordship was most affable and kind to all his guests, and many compliments were paid to General Nott, and the officers of his force, among which the acknowledgments deservedly rendered to Major Hibbert, and H. M. 40th, and to my friend, Captain (now Major) White, C. B., gave me peculiar pleasure.

While at Ferozepore, every day was marked by some circumstance of rejoicing; the distribution of honours and medals, (for which last a militant chaplain may be pardoned the expression of his gratification at finding that his own coat was no absolute disqualification,) reviews, dinners, morning and evening entertainments, followed each other in quick succession; and the enormous camp, exhibiting miles of canvass, and containing, I believe, 40,000 troops, with probably three times the number of followers, was a novel and interesting sight. It is remarkable, that with such multitudes, not only was there a regular supply both of food and forage, but at a moderate rate—at least we thought it moderate after the prices we had been accustomed to pay above the passes.

In the midst of these festivities, however, we were not without rejoicings of a more solemn and satisfactory character. On the 25th December, Sunday and Christmas Day, the European troops of the Kandahar force were assembled at eight A. M. for divine service, in the centre street of the camp, whom I addressed from Luke ii. 11—14,* and spoke of the peace which God had graciously restored

* See Sermon IV.

to us, and the motives to thankfulness arising from the contrast between our situation on this, and the last Christmas, the very time at which the commencement of hostilities in Kabul sent them forth under arms from Tattah. At half-past ten, I went to the governor-general's tent to assist his chaplain, the Reverend Mr. Whiting, from whom I had received much kind attention. Here was a good congregation, and after morning service, we administered the Holy Communion to about forty communicants, amongst whom were the governor-general and the commander-in-chief. I was delighted to see so large a number of young officers among the recipients of the Holy Sacrament. In the afternoon, I had divine service as usual in the mess-tent of H. M. 40th regiment, (only twice prevented during the campaign,) and preached from Nehemiah viii. 10. After our weary marches, and distracted kind of life, these were calm and refreshing services indeed!

31st. After breakfasting with Mr. Whiting, I accompanied him to a private durbar, at which the governor-general was to receive Dhyan Sing, the heir apparent to the Punjab, who came, with several grandees, amongst whom were Monsieur Court, one of

the French officers in the employ of the late Maharajah, and Runjeet Sing's celebrated fakeer, to pay a visit of ceremony on the part of the Maharajah. The approach of the cavalcade down the central street, the immense size and number of the elephants, the splendour of their howdahs and caparisons, the glittering armour and gay pennons of the troops, were highly imposing. The durbar tent was unfortunately too dark, and the cortège lost much of its brilliance from this circumstance. The dresses of the Sik princes, their jewels, helmets, armour, &c., were most magnificent. The young prince, Dhyan Sing, a boy about ten years old, was literally loaded with jewels, bangles, &c., till he appeared almost to stagger in walking up the tent. In the midst of this grandeur, however, was a ludicrous mixture of poverty, for when these illustrious persons put off their shoes, according to oriental custom, they exhibited deplorably ragged and by no means clean stockings, out of which their swarthy toes were peeping. All the Siks also spoil their appearance by wearing ill made tight pantaloons, and, as a native's legs are always the most defective parts of his person, these spindles of scarlet or yellow, as the case may be, are a poor sub-

stitute for the wide trousers generally worn by orientals.

From the durbar we went to a grand review. I was not able exactly to ascertain the number of troops on the ground, but do not think I exaggerate in saying that they were above thirty thousand. It was a splendid spectacle, and as the troops marched round in review, I could not avoid pointing out to Mr. Whiting the honourable colours of H. M. 40th regiment, decorated with the names of almost all our great victories from Egypt downwards. I rode an elephant for the first time: this afforded an excellent view of the whole affair, but the motion was rolling and unpleasant, much like that of a boat at sea. In the evening, the 3rd Bombay light cavalry, who were to return to their own Presidency, with the artillery, by land, instead of going down the river with the infantry, gave a farewell dinner to their old friends the 40th. While we were on our way, the rain, which had been threatening for some days, came down suddenly like spouts—such rain I never experienced before. We galloped as hard as our horses could carry us, but it was of no avail, we were wet to the skin in an instant, as effectually as if we had been dragged through a pond. Arrived at the

mess-tent, one miserable object came in after another, all completely drenched. Dry clothing was procured, but the rain continuing, the tent soon began to drip, and, the flat plain on which we were pitched possessing no facilities for carrying off the water, the whole camp in an hour was a kind of shallow lake; the mess-tent became flooded, and we sat up to our ankles in water. After such a dinner as we could get under the circumstances, the rain still pouring, I got a doolie to return. It was like a shower-bath, being only covered with canvass. The bearers were wading and staggering, and soon lost the road: they got into the regimental bazaars, where a dismal spectacle presented itself; everything was floating, the little rowties projecting above the water, and here and there a poor creature with a lantern, endeavouring to fish up his goods. The troops in the lines having no bedsteads, were obliged to stand on their feet all night with their bedding over their shoulders. Happily, on arriving at home, I found that my careful servants had thrown up a trench round my tent, which preserved it, so that I had a dry spot to stand on, but so dismal a night, as the sequel to so gay a morn, I never remember.

On Sunday, 8th January, the day before

leaving Ferozepore, I preached to H. M. 40th and 41st regiments, and the Bengal foot artillery, (the Bombay artillery having previously marched,) a farewell sermon from 2 Cor. xiii. 11.* It was a melancholy and exciting occasion, and my feelings appeared to be shared by many around me. I felt deeply on leaving a force with which I had passed through so many and varied scenes, and earnestly prayed that God might be with and bless them, and that it might appear hereafter that my ministrations had not been in vain. In the afternoon I met a very good congregation in the commander-in-chief's tent, and preached on the subject of the Epiphany.

The following day, 9th, presented one of the most gratifying, and at the same time, most painful scenes, I have ever witnessed, an apt illustration of what Dryden has termed "pleasing pains and bitter sweets." Major (now Lieutenant-Colonel Hibbert, C.B., who had long commanded the regiment, and most deservedly possessed the respect and affection of both officers and men, was about to leave, and with him, Captain Neil, and Lieutenants Seymour, Carey, and M'Andrew. My time had also arrived for quitting the corps with which

* See Sermon V.

I had been most closely associated, and with the officers of which I had really been as a brother and a comrade. I have before mentioned the unity of the officers of this corps, which exceeded anything of the kind I have seen elsewhere, and the parting was like the separation of a private family. At tiffin in the mess-tent but little was said, for every one's heart was full. Several tried to make speeches, but all broke down, and the signs of feeling were too unequivocal to be mistaken. But when we really started, the scene was beyond description. The band had been assembled to attend the major out of the lines as a compliment to him; but this did not appear sufficient to the men, who all spontaneously turned out in uniform, and followed us. For more than two miles, these noble, warm-hearted fellows kept us company, and "One cheer more for the major!" "One cheer more for Captain Neil!"—"One cheer more for the minister!"—and so on, through the whole party, resounded again and again. We tried to speak to them and to thank them, but in vain, for words were choked in the utterance. Still they followed us, shaking our hands, and loading us with blessings; and thus, amidst tears, and shouts, and benedic-

tions, we took our leave of the gallant old 40th foot! Never shall they be without my prayers and best wishes, to whatever part of the globe they may go.

This was my last memorable incident. I travelled by native boat from Ferozepore to Sukkur, and found the Indus much as I have described it between Sukkur and Kurachee.

On 30th January I reached Sukkur, and by the kind invitation of Major Outram, accompanied him in the Satellite steamer to Hydrabad. Thence on the 10th February, with Major Wade, H. M. 13th light infantry, I went to Tattah, and from Tattah to Kurachee, thus narrowly missing the share of a not uninterested spectator in the defence of the agency at Hydrabad, by my gallant friend Major Outram and the light company of H. M. 22nd regiment, which took place on the 15th, and the battle of Hydrabad or Meeanee, which occurred two days afterwards, both affording greater opportunities for the display of the gallantry and steadiness of our officers and troops than anything which it had been my lot to witness. Major Wade and myself also, having travelled without escort, and as we supposed through a friendly country, found afterwards that we had run great risks

of being made prisoners or murdered, by the assembling Beloochees.

February 21st. I embarked in the Indus steamer for Bombay, and on the 23rd, Major Outram rejoined us at the mouth of the river, with despatches from General Sir C. Napier, whom we were right glad to welcome, safe, and crowned with additional laurels. We anchored in Bombay Harbour on the night of Sunday, 26th February, 1843, after an absence on my part of one year and ten months.

I have now but to wish my reader farewell. If he have felt any interest in the preceding narrative, he may be assured that, to the best of my knowledge and belief, I have recorded nothing but simple and unexaggerated truth. I have not hesitated to express censure where I thought it deserved, and have felt it equally a duty to repel unmerited reproach. If these details serve to amuse a leisure hour; —still more, if they be honoured to remove misconceptions, and to set in a just light the character, labours, and exploits of the British and native soldier, to show what are his trials, his dangers and privations, and so to awaken sympathy in those who sit at home at ease; but above all, if they excite in any breast a higher strain of gratitude to the Almighty

'Ruler of nations and Preserver of men, for signal instances of his goodness, under circumstances of singular anxiety and peril;—my pains will be abundantly repaid, and my utmost wish accomplished.

FIVE SERMONS

PREACHED ON VARIOUS OCCASIONS

DURING THE CAMPAIGN

IN AFFGHANISTAN.

SERMONS.

SERMON I.

PREACHED AT THE CAMP NEAR KABUL.

DEUTERONOMY iv. 39, 40.

"Know therefore this day, and consider it in thine heart, that the Lord he is God, in heaven above, and upon the earth beneath, there is none else. Thou shalt therefore keep his statutes, and his commandments, which I command thee this day; that it may go well with thee, and with thy children after thee, and that thou mayest prolong thy days upon the earth, which the Lord thy God giveth thee, for ever."

WHEN Israel came out of Egypt, and the sons of Jacob from amongst a strange people, after they had passed through the great and terrible wilderness where were fiery serpents and drought, and had been fed by manna which they knew not neither did their fathers know, when every danger was surmounted, and they stood in full view of that good land

which the Lord God had sworn unto their fathers to give them, the words of my text were spoken, and formed part of the farewell address which Moses, the man of God, delivered to them, standing on the verge of the heavenly Canaan, and beholding with the eye of faith its coming glories.

The age of miracles, it is true, has passed; we have not been fed with food from heaven, nor guided by a pillar of fire and of cloud; but is there nothing in our circumstances, my brethren, which being known and considered in our hearts *this* day, must compel us to acknowledge that the Lord is God, in heaven above, and upon the earth beneath, there is none else? *Compel*, did I say?—the judgments and the wrath of God might have *compelled* the acknowledgment of his *irresistible* power; but is there nothing to call forth our heartfelt praises of his *merciful* power; nothing which should bind us to keep his statutes and his commandments, to devote our future lives to him as a grateful thank-offering for his goodness? Every heart, I am persuaded, will confess that there is much, and let us join our supplications to the throne of grace, for the aid of the Holy Spirit, that our gratitude may not spend itself in mere words,

but that from us to whom the Lord has given much, "he may receive the more." It is our privilege this day to look back upon a course which has but few parallels in history. The first expedition through this country had been conducted with so much ease and facility, that all was rejoicing and congratulation; all seemed peaceful and quiet; so peaceful that the utmost security had lulled us asleep; when suddenly the brightness was overshadowed by a cloud so deep and lowering, the calm was broken by a thunder-bolt so instant and overwhelming, that our Indian empire seemed to rock to its foundations—our foes exultingly exclaimed that the sun of England's glory in the East was set,—and among our rulers themselves all seemed dismay, and doubt, and uncertainty. In the midst of this gloom, a little band, little for the objects it had in view, cutting off all basis of operations, renouncing all hope of retreat, not permitting itself to contemplate reverse, carrying with it its own supplies, has marched nearly four hundred miles through the very centre of the land in which our countrymen's blood had flowed like water, effected a junction with a larger force, and now stands victorious almost in view of the

site of that most awful catastrophe—to prove to the world that the sun of England's glory has *not* set, that the oak may have been riven and scathed by the storm, but its root is unshaken, and it has vigour to sprout again. And now, brethren, to whom shall we ascribe so great a blessing? Shall we say, "My power, and the might of mine hand hath gotten me this advantage? Shall we ascribe it to the bravery of our troops, or the excellence of our arms, or our discipline? These are *instruments*, it is true, but who is it that has so lessened the difficulties upon which we justly calculated? Who was it that caused our foes to fly, so that the bravery of our troops was scarcely put to a proof worthy of them? Who, that by his providence, so watched over us, that the expedition has been made with an expenditure of human life far beneath all probable calculation? Let every due praise be given to man as the subordinate, for his exertions, but let the heart of every one ascribe the success of those exertions, to Him to whom alone it is due, and exclaim, "Not unto us, O Lord, not unto us, but unto thy name be the glory, for thy loving mercy and for thy truth's sake."

The object of Moses, in his address to the

Israelites, is (1,) to extol the mercy and loving kindness of God, by setting forth his gracious dealings to them, in the privileges he had granted them as a nation, for he says, "The Lord your God, which goeth before you, he shall fight for you, according to all that he did for you in Egypt before your eyes, and in the wilderness, where thou hast seen how that the Lord thy God bare thee, as a man doth bear his son, in all the way that ye went, until ye came to this place." (Deut. i. 30, 31.) And in another place, "For what nation is there so great, who hath God so nigh unto them, as the Lord our God is, in all things that we call upon him for? And what nation is so great that hath statutes and judgments so righteous, as all this law which I set before you this day?" (Deut. iv. 7, 8.) And may we not urge the same claims of gratitude for similar mercies upon Britain and its subjects? Who can look upon the small space occupied by our native islands on the face of the globe, and then turn his gaze to the vast extent of our foreign possessions, upon which it is literally true that the sun never sets, and not confess that the Lord our God must have gone before us signally and specially, or such an extent of dominion could

never have been acquired or maintained? And what nation is there that hath statutes and judgments so righteous, based as they are upon the pure principles of the gospel, securing peace at home to the whole realm, and to every man the quiet possession of his own? We have seen the distracted state of these wretched lands, where every house must be a fort, and every man go forth armed to his daily toil. We have seen smiling valleys desolated, and dwellings wrapped in flames. Now turn and view the contrast furnished by our blessed native land; where, through the length and breadth of it, there is scarcely a fort, except some old and mouldering ruin, which stands as a monument to remind us of our present mercies, by the recollection that it was not always so; where the bearing of arms is so unnecessary that it is ordinarily disused; and who maketh the difference but that good and gracious God, who hath given us statutes and judgments so righteous, and whose providence maintains them, as a terror to evil doers, and for the praise of them that do well? And when we go a step further, and look from the statutes and judgments of civil law, to those of pure and undefiled religion, in which it is our privilege to

be trained from infancy; the knowledge of the Saviour who died for our redemption, who rose again for our justification, and ever liveth to make intercession for us; surely we must gratefully confess that the Lord hath done great things for us, whereof we ought to rejoice, that he hath exalted us in privileges above the nations of the earth, and hath given us abundant blessings. The confession is generally and readily made with the lip, but, alas! it is to be feared that the feeling of the heart is far more frequently that of pride than of gratitude in the contemplation of our national prosperity. So also it was with the Jews.

And (2,) the object of Moses, in the second place, is to check and suppress this unhallowed feeling, by representing the sovereignty of God in the choice of them, though a stiff-necked people, and the chastisements with which he had been compelled to visit them. "Speak not in thine heart, saying, For my righteousness the Lord hath brought me in to possess this land: but for the wickedness of these nations the Lord doth drive them out from before thee. Not for thy righteousness, or for the uprightness of thine heart, dost thou go to possess their land: but for the wickedness of these nations, the Lord doth

drive them out from before thee, that he may perform the word which he sware unto thy fathers, Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob. Understand therefore, that the Lord thy God giveth thee not this good land to possess it for thy righteousness; for thou art a stiff-necked people." (Deuteronomy ix. 4, 5, 6.) Again, "Beware—lest thine heart be lifted up, and thou forget the Lord thy God, which brought thee forth out of the land of Egypt from the house of bondage; and thou say in thine heart, My power and the might of mine hand hath gotten me this wealth." (Deut. viii. 11, 12, 17.) "And thou shalt remember all the way that the Lord thy God led thee, these forty years in the wilderness, to humble thee, and to prove thee, and to know what is in thine heart, whether thou wouldest keep his commandments or no. And he humbled thee, and suffered thee to hunger, and fed thee with manna, which thou knewest not, neither did thy fathers know; that he might make thee know that man doth not live by bread only, but by every word that proceedeth out of the mouth of the Lord doth man live.—Thou shalt also consider in thine heart, that as a man chasteneth his son, so the Lord God chasteneth thee." (Deut. viii. 2, 3, 5.)

Now is there not much in all these passages that is strikingly applicable to us as a nation, and calculated for our warning and instruction? Have we not also been a stiff-necked people? Can any one connect the two facts that God has blessed our land with probably a larger acquaintance with the gospel than is possessed by any other nation of the world, and then gifted us with a dominion upon which the sun is ever shining in his whole progress round the globe, without coming to the almost obvious conclusion, that he must have intended us as main instruments for the propagation of his truth? But has this been a main object with us? Alas! no. By individual and private efforts, I rejoice to think that much has been done; but as a nation, and by legislative acts, almost nothing: nay, there have been repeated instances in which we have plainly preferred our dominion to our religion, and have suppressed the exhibition of the rites of our faith, and discouraged the propagation of its principles, for fear of shaking our authority, as if the God who gave, were unable to uphold it. And, to come from the nation to individuals—has the example of professed Christians in India been beneficial to the heathen, to any such extent as might

reasonably have been expected? Have not the heathen frequently been driven to the conclusion that their Christian rulers had no religion at all, because they could perceive no outward signs of it? And have not the violence, and swearing, and drunkenness, and uncleanness of Christians so called, lowered the standard of morals of the very heathen around the stations where they dwelt?

My brethren, I apprehend these are things which cannot be denied. And, O! how should they check every feeling of pride, and carry home to every man's heart the sorrowful conviction, that we have, indeed, been a stiff-necked people, that not for our righteousness, but of God's mere mercy and kindness, he hath given us this dominion. But has this conviction of our own unworthiness, and of the exceeding mercy and forbearance of God, been so general as to check the feeling of pride and self-exultation, and to induce us to give to God the honour due unto him? Has there been no disposition among *us* to say, "Our power and the might of our hand hath given us this wealth? Alas! for the answer that must be given to these questions!

In the former expedition, though the hand of God was most evident throughout its whole

course, while man was exalted, God was forgotten. Titles, honours, and praises, were lavished upon instruments, and not undeservedly—but where were the public acknowledgments, where were the praises, where the honour, which should have been given to the God of armies, to whom they were infinitely more due?

And have we not been humbled?

Alas! brethren, how have those instruments, those troops in whom we vainly boasted, been dashed to the ground! Are we not even now almost in view of the spot that was reddened with their blood, and where still their mouldering ashes lie unburied? Have not our eyes filled with tears on reading the melancholy record of the tortures and sufferings of our countrymen, inscribed on the walls of their prison-house?* Is not our joy, even now, damped by the remembrance that brothers, and husbands, and wives, and friends, are still in the power of our savage enemies? And can any man hide from himself the conviction that this is the fruit of that pride which, persisted in, goeth before destruction, and that haughty spirit which is before a fall; that all these things have befallen us "to humble us,

* In the citadel of Ghuznee.

and to prove us, and to show what was in our hearts?" The great mercies granted to us in our late success are, I trust, evidences that the Almighty is dealing with us as children, and not as foes—that he has in view our repentance, and not our destruction—that as a father chasteneth his son, so the Lord is chastening us. May we, by his grace, hear the rod and who hath appointed it. God grant that there may be no more boasting now—no more exulting in an arm of flesh,—that while every praise is given to the valour of our troops, (and far, far be it from me to depreciate that valour, which no one can more admire,) the supreme honour may be given to God alone; that he may be acknowledged as God in the heaven above, and upon the earth beneath, as the God who teacheth our hands to war and our fingers to fight, who puts fear into the hearts of our enemies, and causes them to fly before us: for surely, upon a consideration of all the circumstances, the conviction of every heart should be that of David, "If the Lord himself had not been on our side,—if the Lord himself had not been on our side, when men rose up against us, they had swallowed us up quick, when they were so wrathfully displeased at us." And therefore, (again in the words of

the holy Psalmist once already quoted,) " Not unto us, O Lord, not unto us, but unto thy name be the glory, for thy loving mercy, and for thy truth's sake."

This thankful acknowledgment brings us to (3) the third object which Moses had in view in his address to the children of Israel, viz. to exhort to the course of conduct dictated by a sincere feeling of lively gratitude. " Thou shalt, therefore, keep his statutes and his commandments, which I command thee this day, that it may go well with thee, and with thy children after thee, and that thou mayest prolong thy days upon the earth, in the land which the Lord thy God giveth thee, for ever."

This course of holy obedience becomes us, first, from the remembrance of the past mercy of God. Not only have we to rejoice on public grounds that God has been pleased to bless us as the instruments of restoring the honour of our country, that we have seen her venerated flag flying once again on the very towers whence it had been torn down and dishonoured, that some of the prisoners and captives, our fellow-countrymen and fellow-subjects, have been restored to liberty,* that a

* The whole, with the exception of Captain Bygrave, returned on the 21st of September.

hope is held out of a termination of this unhappy struggle, under circumstances of credit and national advantage which a few months since could scarcely have been hoped for by the most sanguine; but we have also strong grounds for gratitude of a private and individual nature. All of us have been more or less exposed to danger and to death; some have to acknowledge very narrow and merciful escapes indeed. Upon all these grounds, therefore, the exhortation of the text comes home to every one of us, to keep the statutes and commandments of him who hath done so great things for us. "And this," says St. John, "is his commandment, that we should believe on the name of his Son Jesus Christ, and love one another, as he gave us commandment." (1 John iii. 23.) Seek, then, as the first and most important of all things, a true and lively faith in Jesus Christ, as the Son of God, the Saviour of the world, and then pray, and watch, and strive, that you may increase and abound more and more in that love towards God, and good will towards man, of which true faith is the unfailing root. Remember that whenever God afflicts a nation, it is for the accumulated sins of its individual subjects. Imagine not that you shift off your portion of

the guilt by throwing blame upon your rulers, and pointing out wherein they have erred. Rulers are but instruments in the hand of God, and if the sins of the people provoke him to anger, he is able to confound the wisdom of the wisest, and to bring to nought the counsel of the most prudent. Your duty is not discharged, nor have you learned the lesson which national calamities, or national mercies, are designed to teach you, unless you examine your own hearts, bewail and lament your own sins, seek from the hand of God, through Jesus Christ, a new heart and a right spirit, and strive in every good word and work to do his will.

Oh! what an acceptable offering would it be to our heavenly Father—how would it promote his glory, and cause the light of his gospel to shine on those that sit in darkness, if Christians in name would but live as Christians in deed; if those oaths, that excess and uncleanness, which abound amongst us, were exchanged for a conversation and conduct becoming the gospel of peace; if that neglect of the public and private ordinances of religion, which makes the heathen conclude so naturally that Christians themselves despise the Christianity which they profess, were to give

place to such feelings as those of David,—"I was glad when they said unto me, Let us go unto the house of the Lord,"—"O how I love thy law, all the day long is my study in it."—"Seven times a day will I praise thee, because of thy righteous judgments. Every individual Christian would then be, amongst unbelievers, as an epistle of Christ known and read of all men; and that dreadful stumbling-block to the progress of the religion of Christ would be removed, of seeing its principles perpetually belied by almost the only parties from whom any notion of them can be formed.

Moses exhorted the Jews to obedience to the statutes and commandments which God gave them by him, under the promise that they should prolong their days upon the earth, which the Lord their God gave them; but it is my privilege, under the gospel dispensation, to hold out to you far brighter and more glorious hopes, even that you may enjoy a blessed existence in heaven for ever, when days, and months, and years, shall have ceased. Temporal deliverances and mercies are great indeed and glorious, but they sink into nothing when compared with the glory of that better land, wherein dwelleth righteousness, where

are no painful journeyings, no harassing foes, no sin, no death. The same God who has given the one has offered to bestow the other. He has given you the lesser blessings as a type and emblem of the greater. Only fight manfully against sin, the world, and the devil, as you have valiantly fought against earthly foes, and he that overcometh shall be crowned with immortal honour in the temple of our God, and shall go no more out.

And now, my brethren, be strong in the Lord, and in the power of his might. You have not yet indeed arrived at the end of your undertaking: there may be dangers yet to encounter, and difficulties to surmount; but thus far you may raise your memorial with thankfulness, and say, "Hitherto the Lord hath helped us," and believe with cheerful confidence, that he who hath delivered will yet deliver. Go on, then, in the power of his might, not boasting in yourselves, but trusting in him. Let not Satan persuade you that an humble trust in God is any sign of the want of that manly courage and spirit which are the characteristics of a good soldier; for what were the words with which one of the greatest warriors on record went into combat?—"The battle is the Lord's, and he will deliver you

into our hands." May he, of his goodness, crown your efforts with victory; may he give us all in peace and security to rejoice in his goodness; and finally, when our last enemy is vanquished, bring us unto that land of perfect peace, where with angels and archangels, and all the company of heaven, we shall laud and magnify his holy name.

Sept. 18*th and* 25*th*, 1842.

SERMON II.

THE CAPTIVES DELIVERED.

PSALM cvii. 1, 2.

"O give thanks unto the Lord, for he is gracious, and his mercy endureth for ever. Let them give thanks whom the Lord hath redeemed and delivered from the hand of the enemy."

THE animating Psalm, of which our text is the commencement, was suggested by the return of the Jews to their own land from their captivity in Babylon. Their city had been utterly destroyed, their holy and beautiful house where their fathers worshipped laid in ruins, their name appeared to be obliterated from among the nations of the earth, and but a feeble remnant, in a far distant land, sat down and wept by the waters of Babylon, while they thought on their ruined Zion, and hanged their harps upon the willows, meet emblems of the mourners weighed down by grief, who

bowed their heads beneath their shade. When, therefore, this state of destitution was suddenly changed—when, under the sanction of Cyrus, the scattered remnants were gathered and restored to their beloved Jerusalem, under a recognized leader armed with full powers to raise again their ruined state—can we wonder that they scarcely credited such blessedness, that they looked back upon it and exclaimed, "When the Lord turned again the captivity of Judah, then were we like those that dream, then said they among the heathen, The Lord hath done great things for them?"—can we wonder at their exulting psalm of praise: "O give thanks unto the Lord, for he is gracious, for his mercy endureth for ever. Let them give thanks whom the Lord hath redeemed, and delivered from the hand of the enemy?"

I am persuaded that there is much in the history of the deliverance of the Israelites which must awaken similar feelings of gratitude and exultation in the bosoms of those before me; and although I have already alluded, in a public discourse, to the wonderful deliverance of our own friends and fellow-countrymen, yet as there are many now present who were not then with us, the subject seems far too

important, far too happy, to be hastily dismissed, without my endeavouring to improve it by rivetting on your minds the feelings of gratitude and devotion which it is so calculated to call forth. Surely, brethren, there must still be seasons when those who have been delivered from the hand of the enemy must seem like unto those that dream. How hopeless, but a few short weeks ago, appeared their condition! The destruction of the force to which they belonged, how fearful were its circumstances, how complete and overwhelming its extent! How unlikely did it seem to us all, that an enemy who had with such persevering and rancorous hatred followed up our unhappy troops, not content even to let famine and the elements do their work—who had followed till but one remained to tell the tale—would have shown any compassion to the feeble remnant whom he held so helpless in his grasp! how far more unlikely that he should have preserved them, sheltered them, and placed them in comparative comfort! Surely here was an instance of the mercy of God second only to that exhibited in the case of Daniel, when he sent his angel and shut the lions' mouths; for not less blood-thirsty than lions have these enemies generally exhibited them-

selves towards the unhappy victims who have fallen into their power. And still, though preserved from the first burst of savage violence, how hopeless, as to final deliverance, did their position appear! In the very midst of a wild and difficult country, with one still more savage and impenetrable behind, it seemed as if even the march of a powerful army, which should succeed in punishing our enemies, could only tend to rivet the fetters more firmly on our friends, by hurrying them to regions yet more remote from our influence. And to the captives themselves, as week after week and month after month wore away, with still no tidings of advancing friends, or only of an advance that was the signal for their removal to a greater distance, well can we imagine the inroads of hope deferred which maketh the heart sick, the sad, the agonizing recollection of parents, husbands, friends, apparently never again to be beheld. Yet, when the danger was most imminent, the Lord—for surely all will acknowledge it could be none but He—brought deliverance. He who holdeth the hearts of all men in his hands caused even the deceit and faithlessness of man to work for their restoration. One who by his treachery had aided in the work of destruction, by a similar

act of treason to his new master became the instrument of their rescue; thus exemplifying that the deceit and treachery, as well as the wrath, of man, may be overruled to the glory of God, and the remainder of it he can restrain.

In looking back on such a tissue of wondrous changes, more like a fevered dream than the realities of ordinary life, have we not all —not only those delivered, but those who rejoice in their deliverance—reason to exclaim, "O give thanks unto the Lord, for he is gracious, for his mercy endureth for ever!" And may I not repeat—especially to those who have been led through this succession of perils, and restored once again to the embraces of friends, to the comforts of civilized life, to the privileges and consolations of pure and undefiled religion—the words of the Psalmist, which to their case have a literal application, "Let *them* give thanks whom the Lord hath redeemed, and delivered from the hand of the enemy."

But how are these thanks to be expressed? I can imagine no instructed Christian so apathetic, no one so forgetful, as not, in the first gush of grateful feeling, to render thanks to the Giver of all his mercies. I doubt not but that the feeling has been universal, that it is strong

in the bosoms of all. But is this sufficient? shall we stop here, and not render some more permanent tribute of praise to him who hath done so great things for us? Alas! my brethren, such is the short-lived duration of mere natural feeling, that the strongest emotions, whether of grief or joy, of wrath or gratitude, are but for a season; as that which called them forth becomes more distant, and objects of nearer interest intervene, so they vanish away: —surely the lives thus spared, the deliverance thus vouchsafed, were given—that life, and time, and talents, might be devoted more earnestly to his service, whose they were from the beginning, but who has acquired, as it were, a double right, to that which he gave at first, and then, from apparently hopeless deprivation, restored. Let us, then, turn our serious attention to the words of the text, and see if from it some considerations may not be obtained which may direct our grateful feelings into a high, and holy, and permanent channel.

The Scriptures in many places, and more especially the Psalms of David, while extolling the mercies of God in a temporal gift or deliverance, frequently make use of it to direct the eye of the devout reader to subjects of a

spiritual nature, of which the temporal occurrence may be considered emblematical. Thus I conceive it is in the passage before us, and that while the deliverance from Babylon is the first, literal, and most obvious theme of praise, it is intended to remind us of still greater and more enduring mercies; of a redemption from more hopeless bondage than that of Babylon, and a more inveterate foe than the Chaldeans. We are fully justified in taking the passage in this sense, from the expression, "his mercy endureth *for ever*," which cannot be said of mercies and favours relating to the body, which, however great, are but *for a time*.

The Word of God represents the whole race of mankind as by nature under a far more terrible bondage than that from which you have recently so mercifully escaped, and with far more fearful prospects for the future. Ever since the transgression of our first parents, whereby sin entered into the world, and death by sin, every man has been born with a natural tendency to evil which is called by St. Paul "the bondage of corruption," and is under the power of "the god of this world," Satan, "the power that now ruleth in the children of disobedience;" all

are the " children of wrath," under the wrath of God, who is " angry with the wicked every day;" and to all, continuing in this state, there remaineth only a " fearful looking for of judgment and fiery indignation, which shall devour the adversaries." What a fearful bondage! what an awful prospect! Yet such is literally the natural state of every man born into the world; and if any one should doubt the testimony of Scripture as to the naturally evil disposition of man, and his bondage to sin, let him look at the black catalogue of crime which the history of every nation in every age of the world presents. Nay, let him restrict his view, if he will, to any single instance, —let him watch an infant as it grows up, and as reason acquires sway, and see to what courses its natural inclination will prompt it: whether, if not carefully watched and kept down by parental authority, unbridled passion, and selfishness, and deceit, and lying, and overbearing insolence, will not soon give fearful proof of the bondage of corruption. Alas! it is too true that the world lieth in wickedness, that man by nature is in bondage to Satan, his inexorable foe, and that after this short life, there remaineth nothing before him but the blackness of darkness for ever. And

its worst feature is that mankind are so insensible of this bondage? You could not have conceived, in your late circumstances, of any one, except an unconscious infant, who did not *know* that he was prisoner, or who did not sigh for deliverance,—why is it otherwise with regard to the spiritual bondage? It is because the prince of this world hath blinded the eyes of those who believe not; they have always been under this bondage; they have no conception of a happier and a higher state. To a man born blind you might discourse with the utmost eloquence on the joys and pleasures of seeing, but unless his eyes were opened he could not relish or appreciate, or even understand, what you said; so also, unless the eyes of the soul of the natural man are opened by the power of God, he will continue, in spite of exhortation, enamoured with his prison house, till it transmits him to utter destruction. How melancholy, then, is the state of man! He is in utter, and, as far as his own efforts are concerned, hopeless bondage. The implacable foe who holds him in subjection has the power of fascinating him, so that he is in love with his chains; his period of existence is short at the utmost, and utterly uncertain; the end is eternal destruction.

But is there no way of deliverance from this fearful state? Yes, blessed be God! he hath provided a Redeemer, he hath opened a way of deliverance from the hand of the enemy. God so loved the world that he gave his only-begotten Son, that whosoever believeth in him should not perish, but have everlasting life. O how vast and inestimable was the price of this redemption! "All that a man hath will he give for his life," for his temporal existence; but "what shall a man give in exchange for his soul?" Yet the Lord Jesus Christ paid a price even for it. While we were yet without strength, in due time Christ *died* for the ungodly: for scarcely for a *righteous* man will one die, yet God commendeth his love towards us in that while we were yet *sinners* Christ died for us." Nor does his unfathomable love rest even here. I have already shown that man is so blinded and fascinated by Satan, that even when this great salvation has been wrought, when the kingdom of heaven is opened to all believers, of himself he would not believe, he would always "make excuse," he would unthankfully refuse to come; but to obviate every difficulty, God the Holy Spirit undertakes to open the blind eyes, to unstop the deaf ears, of Satan's infa-

tuated bondsmen, that they may have power to behold not only the things which are seen and temporal, but the things which are unseen and eternal; and this gracious assistance is freely bestowed upon every one who sincerely seeks it. "If ye, being evil, know how to give good gifts unto your children, how much more shall your heavenly Father give his Holy Spirit unto them that ask him?"

Now, brethren, I beseech you, put the question solemnly, seriously to your own hearts. Have I accepted this great salvation, which is to be obtained without money and without price; which cost the Son of God no less a sacrifice than his own most precious blood, but which he freely offers to our whole race, "that all men everywhere may be saved?" If conscience testifies that you have hitherto neglected and forgotten these bounteous offers of a greater deliverance than any that can happen to the body, here is your first and fittest tribute of love and gratitude, without which all professions will be empty and worthless. "If ye love me keep my commandments," is the testimony of God himself as to what he requires. "And this," says St. John, "is his commandment that ye *believe* on the Lord Jesus Christ, whom he hath sent." Bless the

Lord, with devout thanksgiving, that he did not suffer you to be cut off by the sword of the enemy, while in a state of rebellion against him, and despising his offers of mercy. Embrace with all your heart that salvation which is bestowed through his blessed Son, and resolve, by his grace, that the remainder of your days shall be conscientiously devoted to his service. How vain, how fruitless, how hypocritical, must it be to offer expressions of gratitude for temporal deliverance from those who can but kill the body, and after that have no more that they can do, while you feel no gratitude for, nay, will not even accept of deliverance from that tyrant, whose object it is to plunge both body and soul into hell. What would you have thought of one of your fellow prisoners, who when the door of deliverance and safety was wide open before him, should have preferred a life of bondage, in the society of barbarians, estranged from all the charms of social and civilized intercourse, to returning to the bosom of his family, the circle of his friends, the converse of his fellow countrymen? Yet what would be his infatuation, when compared to that of the person who turns his back upon endless joy and happiness, and deliberately prefers the pleasures of sin, which

are but for a season, and end in unchangeable misery. Of what worth can be your professions of gratitude, in the sight of God, when you continue in the ranks of his enemies, and follow pursuits utterly incompatible with his worship and glory? Let me, brethren, earnestly impress it upon all your hearts, that you can present no acceptable thanksgiving to the Lord your God, till you have given him up *your heart*—till you have shown your sense of his highest and greatest mercies, by believing on the Lord Jesus Christ, and determining under his banner to fight against the world, the flesh, and the devil. But to those who have accepted the greater deliverance from the bondage of sin, who have the testimony of conscience in favour of the humble hope, that they are sincere followers of the Lord Jesus Christ, what a motive do the recent mercies of the Lord, in their deliverance from the hand of the enemy, present for more entire devotedness to him. We all need to be continually stirred up to a more vigorous pursuit of the path that leadeth unto life. This present world, with its cares, its vanities, and its pleasures, has a vast hold upon the hearts even of those who are in the main endeavouring to live above it.

Amidst its various enticements, O how apt is the love of Christ to grow cold in our bosoms, to how many of us might the charge brought against the Laodicean church, be applied, "I know thy works, that thou art neither cold nor hot. I would thou wert either cold or hot;" implying that even utter carelessness is preferable to this pretended appreciation, but really disregard of the grace and mercy of God. Now what can stir us up to renewed zeal, what can fan the dying flame of our affection, if such mercies as those recently experienced, fail to do it? I speak not only of those delivered from bondage, but of all who have sympathized in their perils, and rejoiced in their most providential deliverance, "The Lord hath done great things for us." He hath turned our mourning into gladness; and how can we praise him so acceptably as by giving thanks unto him for his heavenly grace, and for his mercy which endureth for ever.

Especially the subjects of his providential care, O let this be to us all as a new starting point from which to set out afresh for heaven. To you who have escaped an apparently hopeless captivity, it is almost like the commencement of a new life. Let it be a life of more

devoted love to Christ, of renunciation of the world, its pomps and vanities, of earnest zeal and exertion for the promotion of the glory of him who hath so distinguished you. Abound more in devout and secret prayer for the strengthening grace of God, which alone can enable you to act up to the resolutions which I hope and trust you have all made. You are soon to return again, if God will, to the stations, the acquaintance, the intercourse and pursuits, from which you have long been estranged. O be watchful! be prayerful! for your adversary the devil, goeth about as a roaring lion; temptations will assail you on every side; and resolutions made in the hour of affliction, will be fearfully endangered in the midst of the enticements of pleasure. God enable you to be stedfast, immoveable, always abounding in the work of the Lord.

What a loud call have the circumstances been to parents, to mothers especially, whose children have been so wonderfully preserved, and some of them restored, when for a season separated from their parents by the enemy! Shall these children, thus providentially rescued from temporal bondage, be delivered over to the far worse bondage of the world,

the devil, and the flesh, for want of parental instruction, parental example, parental prayers? Here is a noble opportunity of testifying your gratitude—Dedicate their spared lives devoutly to the service of him who has preserved them. All are of tender age: some but just enlisted into the ranks of the christian army by the sacrament of holy baptism. Let no effort on your part be wanting, let prayer continually ascend to the throne of grace, that they may all be Christians indeed, introduced into the glorious liberty of the children of God. If they are (as a noble lady in ancient story declared of her children) your jewels, O seek that they may be numbered among those precious and living stones which shall be set in the temple of your God, and shine like stars for ever and ever!

And, lastly, if you have appreciated the great redemption wrought for you by Jesus Christ from the grasp of the great enemy of mankind, make it a proof of your gratitude to spread the glad tidings of it among all the nations of the earth. We have all seen the merciless and savage cruelty, the unblushing treachery, the vices not to be named, which prevail among the votaries of a false religion, in which the pure, and peaceable doctrines of the

gospel are unknown. Let the personal experience of these horrors be an additional motive for aiding by your prayers, and your contributions, every effort to diffuse among them the light of life. Despise not, nor unkindly depreciate, (as, alas! is too often done, even by those who should know better,) the humble efforts which are making for this purpose. They may not appear to you to be crowned with that measure of success which you would expect, but they are in direct obedience to the positive command, "Go ye into all the world, and preach the gospel to every creature;" and those who are thus obeying the command of God, wait his time when he shall be pleased to give the increase: meanwhile, if but one soul be rescued from Mohammedan or Heathen thraldom, they rejoice in the promise, that he that converteth a sinner from the error of his way, shall save a soul from death, and shall hide a multitude of sins." But may we not reasonably fear that the success of missionary efforts is retarded, because Christians, in the face of so plain a precept, are found despising instead of praying, and discouraging instead of assisting?

May our prayers be quickened for that blessed period, when concerning every land

on which the sun rises in his circuit around the globe—yea, even of Affghanistan, where we have drunk the cup of sorrow so deeply,—it shall be exultingly said,—"Let them give thanks whom the Lord hath redeemed and delivered from the hand of the enemy!"

Kabul, Oct. 9, 1842.

SERMON III.

THE RETROSPECT.

PSALM CIX. 6, 7, 8.

"They cried unto the Lord in their trouble, and he delivered them out of their distresses; and he led them forth by the right way, that they might go to a city of habitation. O that men would praise the Lord for his goodness, and for his wonderful works to the children of men."

ON this our first occasion of assembling for public worship, since we have left the seat of war and bloodshed, and issued forth into plains of quietness and peace, I know no theme more suitable than a further portion of that Psalm the commencement of which we lately considered as commemorating the deliverance of the Jews from the Babylonish captivity. It is true that it does not apply in every particular, for, while of their march it is said, "hungry and thirsty their soul fainted in them;" to us "even in the wilderness, and

the solitary way," "our bread has been given, and our water has been sure;" yet there is sufficient resemblance between their case and ours, to give rise to the same pious wish as is breathed by the Psalmist in the text, "O that men would praise the Lord for his goodness, and for the wonders that he doeth for the children of men."

"They cried unto the Lord in their trouble, and he delivered them out of their distresses." If we look back for a few months only, how much of trouble and distress can we call to mind, the whole of which is now happily removed, except that sorrow for the dead which time alone can relieve. If we look at the case nationally, what a cloud appeared to hang over our empire in the east, as well as our public reputation! The souls of multitudes fainted within them, while they predicted the most ruinous results, and apprehended the most fearful consequences: how they were to be remedied; how a way was to be found out of a situation equally dangerous and embarrassing, were questions which few could venture to answer. All were crying out in their distress for some way of escape, and many were found to advocate mere escape, even under circumstances the most dishonour

able. Then, what agonizing apprehensions filled the minds of friends at a distance, not only for the safety of the prisoners in the hands of the enemy, but for fathers, brothers, sons, and husbands, serving in Affghanistan, lest the same destruction which had overtaken one British force should descend upon them also. Be assured that many, both in India and at home, were crying unto the Lord in their trouble. Many were the earnest supplications wrung from sorrowing hearts by the extremity of their distress. And if we turn from the nation to ourselves—surely there has been more of a harassing and distressing character than is often found in the annals even of severer warfare. How harrowing has been the sight of the heaps of our mangled fellow subjects and fellow countrymen, whose bodies we have been obliged to pass, day after day, and to leave them as they lay, unhonoured and unburied, the sport and derision of those savages who exulted in their fall! How painful has been the petty kind of warfare, continued day and night, which compelled us so often to lament companions, not falling in open combat with an enemy worthy of them, but treacherously cut down in detail, or shot from his lurking place by a secret foe! How melancholy

have been the objects which have constantly strewed our path! Aged men, helpless women, sick followers, barbarously murdered, by wretches whose savage cruelty distinguished neither age nor sex. Many, I doubt not, have been the prayers for a termination of such horrors, offered up by those to whom fear was unknown, but who longed for escape from regions which, while allowing them little opportunity for the display of military skill or courage, tortured their feelings with the sight of barbarities more like the deeds of savage beasts than of human beings.

Now these prayers have been happily and graciously answered, and that to an extent for which the most sanguine could scarcely have hoped. God has, indeed, led us by a right way. He has opened to us an honourable path of retirement from a situation which at one time seemed encompassed by insurmountable difficulties. The whole of our prisoners have been graciously restored to us. He has so led us forth, that we now look back with the gratifying reflection that no British troops or British subjects remain in those savage regions. The expedition, praised be God, has terminated, with the successful accomplishment of at least its final objects;

and having been brought forth by the right way, little remains but that we go to our respective cities of habitation.

"O that men! O that British Christians, would praise the Lord for his goodness, and for his wonderful works to the children of men." O that there were such a heart in them, and that those who are ready to acknowledge with the lip that the Lord hath done great things for them, whould be equally ready to give substantial proofs of the gratitude they profess. When David contemplated the deliverances which God had wrought for him, the language of his heart was, "What shall I *render* unto the Lord for all the benefits that he hath done unto me?" And his reply was, "I will receive the cup of salvation;" that is, in christian language, I will show my gratitude for temporal mercies, by the thankful acceptance of that, of which all temporal mercies are but the types and shadows,—that great salvation, which God hath wrought in Christ, for the soul as well as for the body, and which is freely offered to the acceptance of every one, that as in Adam all die, even so in Christ may all be made alive.

Now, if you would really praise the Lord for his goodness, this course pursued by David

must be yours also. Unless you embrace Christ as your Saviour, and enlist under his banner as your leader, all your professions of praise will be but a mockery of the Lord Jehovah. The Scriptures represent the race of man as divided between the children of the kingdom of heaven, and the children of the wicked one; and when our Saviour declares, "He that is not with me is against me," he clearly points out that there is not, there cannot be any neutrality, that we must be under the banner of one or the other. Now, if you were to hear a man loudly praising a prince, expressing his gratitude to him, and recounting his obligations, while he deliberately enlisted and continued in the service of his most inveterate enemy, what would you think of his professions of devotion and fidelity? Surely you would at once brand them as mere hypocrisy, and totally worthless. What can be said then of your professions of gratitude to God, if you refuse to enter into his service, by embracing the great salvation which he has offered through Christ our Saviour, and remain in the service of Satan, who is his bitterest enemy? This is the reason why it is said in Scripture, "Without faith it is impossible to please God." Faith is the instrument whereby

we lay hold on Christ, and this is the first great test and proof of obedience which God has appointed. "This is his commandment, that we believe on the Lord Jesus Christ, whom he hath sent." And until this is obeyed, until Christ is received into the heart by faith, all professions of fidelity are unacceptable in his sight, for the persons making them are in rebellion against him, and in league with his bitterest foe.

Let me then press upon the attention of every one before me, who acknowledges (and who can deny it?) the kindness and providence of God towards us, and our debt of gratitude to him, the serious question,—Have you obeyed this his first and great commandment? Have you felt that, as guilty in the sight of God, you need forgiveness; that, as polluted and defiled by sin, you need sanctification and cleansing; and have you applied for these blessings to that Lamb of God who taketh away the sins of the world, and who has graciously and mercifully promised to give to those that ask him, his Holy Spirit, who is the purifier and sanctifier of all his people? Or are you still as careless and indifferent as before, abounding, perhaps, in oaths and blasphemies, profanely using as a

common word the awful name of that God whose love and mercy at the same time you profess to acknowledge? Alas! there are many such; and when I press such a case on the attention of my congregation, I do it with the sorrowful conviction that I am drawing no imaginary picture. Yes, such is the apathy of the human heart, when a long course of sin has blinded it, that not the nearness of death to the man himself, nor the sight of its ravages upon others, has power to arouse it; else who that has seen the sights which we have seen, who that has had the conviction forced upon him by hundreds of ghastly objects strewing his path, that the race of man is as the flower of the field, "in the morning it is green and groweth up, in the evening it is cut down, dried up, and withered"—who that has seen so many fearful instances of this truth, could go away to sin again, to mock the majesty of heaven with vain professions of the lip, to spend the short space that may remain, before he himself is cut down like a flower, in riot, in sensual indulgence, in pursuits of which it is impossible even to speak?

But all are not such. Many, I trust, there are, who have come forth from the view of these frightful evidences of mortal frailty,

determined from henceforth to be Christians, not in name only, but in deed and in truth; many who were before sincerely serving God, who have determined from henceforth to serve him more earnestly and devotedly, and thus more effectually and acceptably to praise the Lord for his goodness, and for the wonders that he doeth to the children of men. My brethren, I would fain aid you in this holy resolution, and I pray God that the directions which I may be enabled to give, may prove beneficial for this end. I have already stated that true faith in Christ, as the only Saviour of sinners, is the foundation of holy obedience—"other foundation can no man lay than that is laid, which is Christ Jesus." But having commenced upon this foundation, I would earnestly impress upon you the necessity of preserving a deep sense of your own natural weakness in a spiritual sense, nay, more than weakness, your natural tendency to evil. How many that have set out well have made an utter shipwreck of faith and a good conscience, through an overweening confidence in their own strength and resolution! As you begin with reliance upon Christ, so, throughout your whole course, you must bear in mind his declaration to his first disciples, "Whosoever

abideth in me, the same bringeth forth much fruit, for *without me ye can do nothing.*" To him you must continually apply, in earnest prayer; for the Christian has no *store* of grace, but it is given, like our daily bread, to those that ask it. Let me intreat you to bear in mind the importance of *prayer;* if you will be Christians, if you will live to the glory of God, you *must* pray, under whatever difficulties. Even those who have most leisure, most opportunities for retirement, and fewest distractions, always find it a difficult task to maintain a spirit of earnest prayer, owing to the worldliness of our nature, and the temptations of Satan. To *you*, therefore, in the peculiar circumstances in which you are placed, it must be still more difficult; for you have few opportunities of retirement, and many distractions, and the great enemy of your souls will not fail to avail himself of these, to tempt you to omit it. But, as I before said, however difficult the task, you *must* pray if you would preserve spiritual life. A man might as well expect to live without food, as to live holily without prayer; and I am persuaded, that among those who fall away from a course of holy living to a course of sin, if the cause of their falling away could be traced, it would be found

invariably to be the neglect of secret prayer. I know nothing so likely to be a preservative, situated as you are, as the cultivation of a habit of mental prayer, the lifting up of the soul to God, when walking by the way, or in the neighbourhood of temptation. This, I imagine, is what St. Paul meant by the direction, "Pray without ceasing:" not that a man was to be always at his devotions, for this would be impossible; but that he should cultivate the habit of constantly looking up to God, whenever necessities pressed upon him, or temptations assailed, wherever he might be, that he who seeth in secret might sustain and defend him. But not only speak to God in prayer, but be diligent to learn what God the Lord will speak to you, in the reading of his holy Word. Set a high value upon the Bible—read it daily; read it not for amusement or curiosity, still less to cavil or to criticise, but to find the path of life. It is in India oftentimes the christian soldier's only instructor. He may frequently be, for a long time together, deprived of the public ordinances of religion; but if he has his Bible, and reads it with prayer, he has a lamp to his feet, and a light unto his paths, which will never lead him astray.

And another exhortation which I would give you is, carefully to avoid the places, the people, the pursuits, that would lead you into temptation. You are shortly to return to stations in India, where many kinds of temptation will open to you, from which you have for some time been comparatively free; there will be many to congratulate, many to flatter, many to entice, and you may be disposed to say, After so long separation, so many toils, a little indulgence is surely allowable, a little excess excusable. O beware of such specious reasoning! Your Bible teaches no such doctrine. We are told there that the good gifts of God's providence are given us richly to *enjoy*, and far be it from me to condemn their innocent enjoyment; but when excess commences, enjoyment is past: brutal excitement, and worse than brutal insensibility, are its only consequences. Sensual indulgence is *never* allowable, excess is *never* excusable. Many a man who had gone on well for a long period, by a single night of such indulgence has cast off his good resolutions, become utterly reckless, and found what he meant to be for *once* only, the inlet to a deluge of dissolute conduct which has destroyed both body and soul together; and

therefore the wise man says, " My son, if sinners entice thee, consent thou not." The professed Christian who mingles in such scenes is like the unconscious moth fluttering round the candle: he draws nearer and nearer with every giddy round, becomes so infatuated that it is impossible to drive him from the cause of fascination, till at last he rushes into utter ruin.

Enter not into the path of the wicked, and go not in the way of evil men; avoid it, pass not by it, turn from it and pass away. Can a man touch pitch, and not be defiled? No more can a man indulge in evil communications without the corruption of his good manners. Let your chosen companions be such as you have no need to be afraid of, or to watch against, but such as may be to you a source of religious advancement; and towards others of a different character, let there be courtesy and civility, a readiness to perform any acts of kindness, and to seek their improvement by every legitimate means, but choose none of their ways, nor ever imagine that you can conciliate them by giving way a little to their practices. Depend upon it, the more you concede, the more they will demand, and your only safety is to keep the straight path, de-

clining not the least, either to the right or to the left.

Thus, believing in Christ, seeking the aid of the Holy Spirit in constant prayer, taking the Bible for your guide, and avoiding temptation, you shall indeed praise the Lord for his goodness, and, in a spiritual sense, be led forth by a right way. It may, like the way that we have come, be beset by harassing enemies; you may encounter in it much that is painful and toilsome; but still it is the *right* way. It is the way that Christ your Saviour has trod before, and traced with his blood; it is the way the apostles, prophets, and martyrs, have taken; and it leads to a city of habitation, a city not like those of earthly building, the inhabitants of which pass away in rapid succession, and make room for others; but a city whence they go out no more. In those to which we are going, we may exchange the ravages of the sword for those of disease; but there, the inhabitant shall no more say, "I am sick." The sun shall not smite them by day, nor the moon by night, but the Lamb which is in the midst of the throne shall lead them and guide them to fountains of water, and God shall wipe all tears from their eyes: tears of penitence, for there shall be no sin to be repented of; tears

of sorrow, for where there is no sin, sorrow, which is its offspring, can never enter. This is that city of habitation concerning which our Saviour declared, "In my Father's house are many mansions. I go to prepare a place for you, and if I go away, I will come again and receive you unto myself, that where I am there ye may be also." God grant that when he cometh he may receive us every one into those everlasting mansions.

The cities of earthly habitation to which we are respectively going, will speedily separate us widely from each other; nay, upon our march we are to move separately, and the present may be the last opportunity which I shall have of addressing some who are now before me. It has pleased God that we should be fellow sojourners for a time, literally dwelling in tabernacles. We have passed together through many painful scenes, and many scenes of peril; we have together been witnesses of the great power, and good providence of the God of armies; together rejoiced in the rescue of the captives, and the restored honour of our country; and though now to separate, may it be found at the last that we have been severally pursuing the right way to the heavenly city, companions in the service of Christ, as

we have been in that of our earthly sovereign. God grant that not one of this whole congregation may be wanting under his banner, when he comes to be glorified in his saints, and admired in all those who wait for him!

Brethren, this, under the promised help of God, depends upon yourselves. Feebly, and with many imperfections and omissions, yet (as He is my witness) sincerely and faithfully, I have endeavoured, while we have been together, to show you the good and right way. I charge you, lay these things to heart; turn not a deaf ear to instruction; but so live a life of faith in Christ, that when we meet together hereafter, it may be to praise him eternally for his goodness, and for the wonders of salvation that he hath wrought for the children of men.

Peshawur, Nov. 13, 1842.

SERMON IV.

CHRISTMAS.

LUKE ii. 10—14.

"The angel said unto them, Fear not: for behold I bring you good tidings of great joy, which shall be to all people. For unto you is born this day, in the city of David, a Saviour which is Christ the Lord. And this shall be a sign unto you; ye shall find the babe wrapped in swaddling clothes, lying in a manger. And suddenly there was with the angel a multitude of the heavenly host, praising God, and saying, Glory to God in the highest, and on earth peace, goodwill towards men."

MORE than eighteen hundred years have passed away since this sacred anthem, resounding over the midnight solitude of the plains of Bethlehem, amazed those shepherds who kept watch over their flocks by night, and delighted their hearts with its glad tidings of great joy; and still it has been re-echoed from age to age, for it was to be unto all people; and it has reached even unto us in

these latter days. It comes to us this day with a peculiar charm; for it has pleased our heavenly Father, in his great mercy, to grant us, in the restoration of *our* peace, a foretaste of that "peace on earth and good-will towards men" which shall one day universally prevail, when the inhabitants of the earth "shall beat their swords into ploughshares, and their spears into pruning-hooks, and shall learn war no more."

Let us entreat the assistance of the Holy Spirit, beloved brethren, that we may enter upon the celebration of this holy festival, as those who do indeed rejoice in the Lord; that we may adopt the resolution of the shepherds, "Let us now go even unto Bethlehem, and see this thing which is come to pass, which the Lord hath made known unto us," blessing his holy name that to *us* these glorious tidings are vouchsafed, which are hidden from thousands in heathen and Mohammedan countries; let us go and behold, in holy contemplation, with the eye of faith, him whom the shepherds of Bethlehem saw with their bodily eyes—the Saviour which is Christ the Lord; and may he give us grace so to behold him as to look unto him and be saved—so to contemplate him as to imbibe his spirit, to be made like

unto him, and to dedicate our future lives to an humble imitation of his perfect pattern.

Since the period when our first parents fell into sin, and lost the image of their Maker, so that "God looked down from heaven to see if there were any that would understand and seek after him," and found them so completely gone out of the way that he himself testified, "There is none that doeth good, no not one"—man had been estranged from his God, and the world in which he lived had been but the dark and obscure dungeon, stained with blood, and desolated through sin, in which he had been shut up unto the judgment which should be revealed. It is true that the Lord, merciful and gracious, left him not, even at the worst, without hope; some rays of light were permitted to pierce the gloom of his prison-house, which grew more and more frequent from the first obscure intimation in the garden of Eden—"The seed of the woman shall bruise the head of the serpent"—down to the very dawn of the Sun of righteousness, when the light became so distinct, that Isaiah could exclaim, in prophetic vision,—"Unto us a child is born, unto us a Son is given, and the government shall be upon his shoulders, and his name shall be

called Wonderful, Counsellor, the mighty God, the everlasting Father, the Prince of peace;"—but much of this was veiled under the observances of the Jewish law, and was rendered still more obscure by the glosses of the scribes and Pharisees, and however a few eminently spiritual persons might penetrate its meaning, the mass of the people were grossly ignorant. But now the fulness of the time was come when the veil and covering spread over the face of all nations should begin to be removed, when the plan of human salvation should be so distinctly and plainly revealed, by God in human form, that he who ran might read it, that the wayfaring man, though a fool in the estimation of men, should not err therein; and the first part of this amazing scheme, the birth of the Son of God from a pure virgin, was revealed in the stable, and to the shepherds, of Bethlehem; for God, who seeth not as man seeth, chose, in this as in many other instances, the weak things of this world to confound the wise, that no flesh should glory in his presence.

This plan of salvation combines all that simplicity, and at the same time sublimity, which might have been expected in a work which came from God, and is in this respect

analogous to the works of creation; for practical uses it is so simple, that even a child may understand and rejoice in it. That man, as a sinner both by nature and practice, has no means by his own merits or good works, of satisfying the justice of God, or of averting his threatened judgment; that being thus a hopeless debtor, the Lord Jesus Christ stood in his stead, and, by his sinless obedience and unexampled sufferings, satisfied the justice of God, so that God, for his sake, and on account of what he has done, is willing to receive and to forgive every one who so believes in the efficacy of this plan of salvation, as sincerely and fervently to embrace it—than this what can be plainer? At the same time it has depths so profound that the angels desire to look into them, and they are unfathomable even to the most acute perception. Who can measure the incomprehensible love of God the Father, and God the Son, which led to the payment of so vast a price for so lowly and worthless an object as sinful man? Who can understand the mystery of God becoming man, and suffering and dying in a world of his own creation, by the hands of his own creatures? These are subjects upon which human reason must confess her weakness, and

faith must receive, upon the simple declaration of God's word, that which reason cannot comprehend. Suffice it for us, that the benefit accruing, and the means of obtaining it for ourselves, are perfectly level to the comprehension of all. Nor in thus acquiescing in that which we cannot comprehend, is there anything unreasonable, anything more than we do in the natural world every day of our lives.

There are multitudes of mysteries in creation in which we are compelled to believe, for we see them, though neither we nor any one can explain them. Take only one instance—the magnet: no one doubts its power, thousands trust themselves every year to its direction, and make their voyages in safety, but no one has ever penetrated or explained its mysterious principle. Its practical use is plain, though the manner of its derivation is inexplicable. So, with the plan of salvation: whatever be its mysteries, if we resort to it and trust to its guidance, we shall make the voyage of life in safety, and enter into the port of eternal rest; if we despise or reject it on account of its difficulties, there is no other name under heaven given unto men, whereby we can be saved, but only the name of the Lord Jesus Christ.

This is the message which, as on this day, was announced by the angels, "Unto you is born—a Saviour, which is Christ the Lord." Are not these glad tidings; a legitimate cause for great joy—the opening of the prison doors to the captives—the opening of the gates of heaven to all believers! But are *we* believers, brethren, or do we merely call ourselves Christians, from the circumstances of birth and education? The wise men of the East, when they found the Saviour, fell down and worshipped him—the angels, though not personally participating in the blessing, for they stood in no need of redemption, yet are found praising God for the peace which was to visit the earth, and the goodwill vouchsafed to men—the shepherds returned, glorifying and praising God, for all things which they had heard and seen:—may God bring our hearts and affections into unison with theirs; may he enable us, with them, to worship, to glorify, and to praise him, with the unfeigned devotion of grateful hearts, not confining our gratitude to transient expressions of the lip, or to this day only, but giving up ourselves to his service, and seeking to glorify him even to our life's end in our bodies and our souls.

I have said, however, that the blessed-

ness of universal peace is more especially brought home to our thoughts at this season by the measure of rest and quiet which God has been graciously pleased to vouchsafe us, after a period of no ordinary anxiety and disquietude. How striking is the contrast which the Almighty goodness has brought about in the lapse of one single year,—between the state of affairs now, and that presented to us last Christmas! In what depressing gloom must this holy season have been spent by our unhappy countrymen, but a few days before they commenced that disastrous retreat which glutted with their flesh the birds and beasts of the savage region through which they attempted to penetrate, and paved its passes with their whitening bones, when they contrasted their hopeless misery, among sanguinary foes, with the congratulations and smiles of friends, the gladness and joy, which were accustomed to greet them on the same anniversary, in the far distant land of their birth! How painful and agonizing a period was it to us, who received from day to day the appalling, but alas! not exaggerated rumours of their sufferings and destruction! Some had even the attempted festivities of the season broken up by the alarm of the enemy at their own doors,

and exchanged the festal board for the posture and habiliments of war. All, whether in the seat of conflict, or pressing towards it, had to feel, along with a high sense of duty, and a stern determination to discharge it at any risk which such a crisis might demand, the strong probability that the execution of duty might call for the sacrifice of life; to hear the taunts and exultations of rival nations, that the sun of England's Eastern glory was set. And many had to lament over those they loved, either as devoured by the sword, or subjected to a captivity which appeared hopeless and endless. Such was our last Christmas! But now what a blessed change! We have none over whom to lament, except those to whom we shall one day go, but who cannot return to us. For the rest—the stain upon upon our national honour is wiped away; our empire is more firmly rooted by the shock which threatened its destruction; the captive exiles are restored to us; we ourselves have been preserved through an expedition which stands almost alone in the history of military enterprise; our vaunting foes have been humbled; and the Dove of peace is once again finding rest for the sole of her foot amongst us. Do we not well, then, to rejoice and be glad, when, in

addition to the glad tidings of great joy which this day is ever intended to call to mind, are offered so many motives of a personal, relative, and national character? When such bright instances of the goodness and mercy of God are before us, and fresh and vivid in our recollection, is it not meet and right, and our bounden duty to praise him in the highest? And if we should fail in this spontaneous tribute of gratitude, might not the very stones cry out in shame of our coldness of heart? To such appeals no answer is required—every man's heart will utter the response.

Let us then spend a few moments in considering what should be the character of our joy. It must be, first, an *humble* joy. One great object of our blessed Saviour's coming into the world was, that all mankind should follow the example of his great humility. It was for this, that he was born in a low station, and that when the angels announced the place of his birth, it was not in any of the palaces of kings, but—"*in a manger.*" There is much in the consideration of our Saviour's birth, which while it fills us with joy, should make it an *humble* joy. Let us call to mind that he was born into the world, that he might die a violent, painful, and early death; that

the necessity for this death was occasioned by the sins of men—by *our* sins; that he died to take away the sins of the world, and that all men through him might be saved; and then while we rejoice and are glad in the hope of this great salvation, how will our joy be chastened by the humbling consideration of our own weakness and sinfulness, our utter inability to do anything as of ourselves, our constant failing and imperfection in every attempt at any return for favours so vast and so unmerited. And if we refer to those recent mercies and deliverances, as to temporal things, of which I have spoken, surely while there is every cause for cheerful thanksgiving, there is none for pride and boasting. We have all again and again acknowledged how wonderfully the providence of God has appeared for us. Let us not forget in the times of peace and rejoicing, the confessions we made in the hour of danger; and while we give honour where honour is due among men, let us never forget the highest of all honour, which is due to Him who giveth victory to kings, and delivereth his servants from the peril of the sword. Whatever arrangements men may make, whatever conduct and wisdom they may exhibit, the great scriptural

truth remains the same: "When He giveth quietness, who then can make trouble; and when he hideth his face, who then can behold him; whether it be done against a nation, or against a man only." (Job xxxiv. 29.) May he, of his mercy, impress this truth so deeply on our hearts that it may bind us in deep humility, to honour and adore him with unfeigned devotion, for "them that honour him he will honour;" while, on the other hand, "they that despise him shall be lightly esteemed."

But, again, our joy should not be selfish, it should be allied with *benevolence and love.* The song of the angels not only proclaimed peace on earth, but good will towards men; not merely the refraining from battle and blood, from motives of interest or of policy, but because as members of one family we should love one another. There has been much in the scenes we have witnessed, to inflame the angry passions of the mind, and to lead us to think of our enemies as though they were scarcely of the same flesh and blood as ourselves. All must have felt this effect of the circumstances in which we have been placed. But these have now passed away. Let us earnestly strive that such vindictive passions may

pass away also, and give place to that good will towards men which our Saviour came to bring upon earth; that we may learn to think even of Affghans with kindness; and to pray with sincerity, that the light of gospel truth may penetrate theirs in common with all lands, and the baneful influences whereby man is urged to point weapons of destruction against his fellow man be extinguished for ever.

But, lastly, our joy should be a *christian* joy. God forbid that any one should suppose for a moment that Christianity is an enemy to joy and cheerfulness; so far is it from this, that the angels who announced it declared their message to be *glad* tidings of *great* joy. It adds the sweetest note to every strain of earthly harmony, from the blessed consideration that by means of faith in Christ it may be prolonged to eternity. But then it must be *holy* joy, it must be such as angels need not blush to join in; such as we can look up to God to sanction and bless. But I need not tell you that there is a joy, with which Christianity, and holiness, and angels, and God, can have no sympathy—a sinful joy, which the Scriptures compare to a flame among thorns, as raging, as noisy, as impetuous, as short-lived, as to be exchanged for darkness.

I need not tell you that there are those, (would that they were few, and not alas! the many,) who make use of this holy season only as a period of more determined debauchery and sin, as if, because their Saviour as at this time came to die for sin, they had, on that account, the more full license to commit it; as if the consideration of the immeasurable price paid for its atonement, were a reason why they should rush into it the more greedily. Alas! brethren, this is little regarded among men, but picture to yourselves how it must appear in the eyes of God, and of those holy beings who with the deepest reverence desire to look into the mysteries of that redemption which is thus set at nought and blasphemed. I am the more bold to urge this matter upon you, because the return, at such a season, after such a period of service, to fellow-countrymen and friends, holds out temptations more powerful than usual to those indulgences and excesses, which belong not exclusively either to high or low, but to which both alike are exposed. May God give you grace to watch against and to avoid them. May he enable you to pass your Christmas time as becomes the followers of Christ, and those who do

indeed rejoice, with holy joy, in the glad tidings of his great salvation. Then shall the joys of earth be foretastes of the approaching joys of heaven, and preparatory to your joining that vast assemblage, which, called together from the east, the west, the north, and the south, shall sit down with Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, in the kingdom of God, to praise him who hath redeemed them out of all nations, and hath made them kings and priests unto God, and his Father; to whom be glory and dominion for ever and ever. Amen.

Ferozepore, Christmas Day, 1842.

SERMON V.

THE FAREWELL.

2 CORINTH. xiii. 11.

"Finally, brethren, farewell. Be perfect, be of good comfort, be of one mind, live in peace; and the God of love and peace shall be with you."

SUCH are the kind words of exhortation, promise, and encouragement, with which St. Paul takes leave of the Corinthian church, which, under the divine blessing, he had been enabled to found in the midst of heathenism and profligacy. We also, like the Corinthians, are a band of professed Christians amongst millions of surrounding heathen, let us then endeavour to derive from these words some suitable topics of instruction for ourselves, and to that end let each one earnestly entreat the assistance of that blessed Spirit, without whom nothing is strong, no-

thing is holy, that we may be enabled to read, mark, learn, and inwardly digest, this important portion of his holy word. I purpose to divide the text into two parts, consisting of,

I. Exhortation.

II. Promise.

I. Be perfect. This exhortation might, at first sight, astonish weak and timid Christians. "What," might such say, "is it expected that the Christian is to be perfect, blameless, without spot?" Is it not said in Scripture itself, that — "in many things we offend all." It is so. And the words before us, I apprehend, were never intended to imply that man can attain in this life to a state of sinless perfection—a doctrine which the Scriptures nowhere inculcate, for they constantly represent man, even the godly man, as frail, sinful, and imperfect. The meaning of the word in the original language seems rather to be—Amend that which is wrong; reform that which is faulty; bring that which has strayed and wandered into the right path. And in this point of view it has a voice for even the best amongst us. If we ever examine into the state of our own hearts, we must be aware how far we fall short of the

requisitions of the law of God, what imperfection hangs about our very best performances: but though it may not be given us to arrive at perfection, yet the more we contemplate that only perfect pattern, our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, the more we set ourselves, with earnest prayer for the help of divine grace, to imitate his spotless example, the nearer will be our approaches to it; the higher we aim the nearer we shall be to our exalted mark, even though we still fall far short of it. The feeling we should strive after is that which animated St. Paul—"I count not myself to have attained, or to be already perfect: but this one thing I do, forgetting those things which are behind, and reaching forth unto those things which are before, I press toward the mark for the prize of the high calling of God in Christ Jesus." This should be the glorious emulation of the Christian, to "think nothing done while aught remains to do;" not to compare himself with his fellow men, and to rest satisfied because he can see some who are worse than himself, but to fix his eyes upon the bright and glorious example of all perfection, his adorable Redeemer, and strive to be made like unto him, never resting or sitting down content till that blessed day

when he shall see him as he is, and be transformed into the same image. Such I conceive to be the meaning of the text, and in that sense I would press it upon you. "Be perfect." In arts and sciences, the man who really loves them is not satisfied with mediocrity, but presses on to higher and higher attainments. So also in the noblest and the highest study, how to fear God and to be made like unto him, we should never, never sit down satisfied till our entrance into the presence of God shall indeed make us perfect, "stablish, strengthen, settle us," and that for ever.

But again, the apostle exhorts, "Be of good comfort." The first exhortation is necessary to the second, which will be utterly unavailing if it is neglected. A Christian cannot be partaker of good, and solid, and well-grounded comfort, unless he is endeavouring to amend and reform what is wrong, to preserve and pursue the right path, to follow, in humble but earnest imitation, the pattern of his Saviour. But if conscience testifies that such is really the case, he has abundant reason to be of good comfort; for the declarations of Scripture are most cheering in his behalf. "If any man," says our Saviour, "will come after me, let him

take up his cross and follow me, and where I am, there shall also my servant be." Has he not rich ground of comfort in this? "There is therefore now no condemnation to them that are in Christ Jesus, who walk not after the flesh, but after the spirit." Here again is abundant cause why he should be of good comfort, for his walking not after the flesh, but after the spirit, shows that he is endeavouring to be perfect; therefore he is united to, or, is in, Christ Jesus; therefore his transgressions are forgiven, his sins are covered; and against such there is no condemnation. God give you, my brethren, this solid ground of peace, by reconciliation with him through the blood of Christ, that you may indeed be of good comfort—firm and lasting comfort—proof against the changes of the world and the ravages of time—comfort adapted for the day of trouble, the hour of sickness, the bed of death—beginning now, but enduring throughout eternity. This, and this alone, is worth calling comfort; to the things which worldly-minded men call by that name, we may indeed say with Job, "Miserable comforters are ye all."

But the apostle adds this exhortation also—"Be of one mind." This agreement and

union of feeling among Christian men, how greatly does it conduce to comfort in every situation of life! But, while there is no condition in which it is unimportant, it is more peculiarly adapted, when obeyed, to enhance the comfort, the efficiency, the respectability of the military profession. In other callings and professions, if men are not of one mind they can avoid each other's society; but in a regiment, or in a troop, where they must live together in the same barracks, meet on the same parade, unite in the performance of the same duties—where there is no possibility of escape, but men must mingle, whether they will or not—how wretched is it to have variance and strife, how surely destructive of that efficiency which their sovereign and their country, to whom they have voluntarily dedicated their services, have a right to expect at their hands! Would you, therefore, be good soldiers,—would you continue such,—be of one mind. And if not as Christians, or for the sake of your country, the more worthy and honourable motives, yet, on that motive which often weighs heaviest with us through the inherent selfishness of our nature,—for your own sakes, your own comfort, "be of one mind." "No man liveth unto himself, and no man dieth

unto himself;" even the most selfish man must sometimes need the good offices, the kindness, the sympathy, the assistance of his comrades: but how can this be given and returned if men are estranged and separated by variance and strife; and what more likely to create strife than want of unity of mind and purpose? But let us pass on to the next exhortation, which bears still more strongly on the same point.

"Live in peace." With the utmost desire for agreement, it will sometimes happen that men cannot be altogether of one mind. He who is devoted to the pleasures and vanities of this life cannot understand or appreciate the pleasures of him whose delight is in the law of his God, and in following the commandments of his Saviour; while, on the other hand, the sincere and conscientious Christian can have no fellowship with sensual and guilty pleasures; and, besides this marked and vital distinction, many minor differences of opinion may arise, where, perhaps, neither is called upon to give up his own views, but all, if so disposed, though of different opinions, may live in peace, if they will but study to be quiet, and not make their differences a ground of unkindness or con-

tention. Let the worldly-minded man, if he will not receive the word of admonition, at all events abstain from making the religious man an object of ridicule or persecution, because he refuses to run with him to the same excess of riot; and let the religious man, while he has no fellowship with the unfruitful works of darkness, but rather reproves them, convey his reproof more by the silent, but most powerful influence of a good and holy example, than by severe and censorious words. Let him beware of a deportment approaching that of the Pharisees, who "trusted in themselves that they were righteous, and despised others;" let his religion be shown by an active, diligent, steady discharge of all appointed duties; let him beware of investing religion with a sour, stern, and unamiable aspect; and let him imitate the example of his heavenly Father, who is kind even to the unthankful and unholy, and maketh his sun to shine on the evil and the good. As to other and minor matters, let all things be done with charity, love, and patience; and depend upon it, by mutually bearing and forbearing, even differences of opinion may consist with living in peace. Thus, though you cannot command *outward*

peace—for your profession is that of war, and war with outward enemies you must expect—you shall yet have peace among yourselves. Valuable however as is this external peace, there is another which is far more to be desired—peace in your own bosoms. Seek the peace of God, which passeth all understanding, which is freely offered to every one through Jesus Christ. "Peace," said the Saviour, "I leave with you, my peace I give unto you: not as the world giveth give I unto you." The established believer in Jesus, has peace of conscience, peace with God, peace with himself in following his Saviour, and rejoicing, in the hope of future glory with him in his kingdom. This is to live in peace indeed. It is a peace without which every other is but false, but a slumbering on the brink of destruction. This is that peace on earth which our Saviour came from heaven to bring; and when it prevails, as (blessed be God) it shall one day prevail, it will make wars to cease in all the earth. God grant you all, my brethren, the possession of it, for the sake of his blessed Son.

II. We proceed, secondly, to the consideration of the promise given to those who

are adorning their christian profession by christian practice, earnestly endeavouring to amend their lives, to seek after true and spiritual comfort, to cultivate unity of spirit, and to live in peace with all men. "The God of love and peace shall be with you." The presence of God constituted the happiness of man in his state of innocence when he was first created. God communed with Adam as a man talketh with his friend; he was created in the image of God, and was fitted to enjoy his presence, and to appreciate his love. And even after man had forfeited his title to share the immediate presence of God, we find that communion with him by prayer, and by the partaking of his grace, as a daily and constant habit, was reckoned among the surest tokens of approval in his sight; thus Enoch, who so pleased God that he was one of the two, out of the whole race of man, who were translated into heaven without tasting of death, has the whole of his character summed up in this one sentence, he "*walked with God*," an expression of the same meaning with that of the text, signifying that God was with him, dwelt in his heart, guided his thoughts and actions, and was the most settled object of his regard. O what a blessed state! "Acquaint now

thyself with him," saith the Scripture, "and be at peace." It is the only method by which true peace can be ensured. It is this presence of God which constitutes the happiness of angels, the bliss of heaven, and of the spirits of just men made perfect; and the nearer we can approach to it on earth, the more we can enjoy of it, the greater will be our happiness, the more complete will be our peace, peace of which none can deprive us, a foretaste of heaven upon earth, a remedy against the storms of affliction, and the terrors of death. "Yea," says David, "though I walk through the valley of the shadow of death, I will fear no evil, for thou art *with me*; thy rod and thy staff,—(thy upholding and sustaining grace,)—they comfort me." And here it is freely promised by a faithful and unchanging God, to every one who, professing the name of Christ, endeavours to follow the example of Christ, to seek earnestly after spiritual comforts, to preserve a conscience void of offence towards God and towards men. What can be more desirable, in a state of existence where all around is perpetually changing, where nothing ever continueth in one stay, than to have the constant presence of an unchanging friend, All-seeing to know our

wants, Almighty to relieve them? Consider only the character given of this heavenly friend in the text. He is styled the God of love, and he has given a proof of his love which none can doubt. "God so loved the world that he gave his only begotten Son, that whosoever believeth in him should not perish, but have everlasting life." "Greater love hath no man than this, that a man lay down his life for his friends." O that this unspeakable love on the part of God the Father, and God the Son, might awaken a corresponding feeling of love in all your hearts, that you might indeed seek the God of love, and "love him, because he first loved" you.

But again, he is represented as a "God of peace." Into whatsoever heart he enters, with whomsoever he dwelleth, he bringeth peace, in a sense and to a degree of which the ungodly know nothing.—He gives peace with himself, peace with God. "God was in Christ, reconciling the world unto himself." The world which lieth in wickedness is at enmity with God, and whenever the thought of him, and his greatness, and his power, intrudes, it disturbs the false peace into which its votaries endeavour to lull themselves; but where he enters, there is reconciliation, and

there is peace.—He giveth peace with conscience through the hope of forgiveness of sins. As long as sin is unforgiven, it remains a burden on the conscience, and whenever this can make itself heard, it will struggle, it will speak, and at its voice, however bold a front he may put on, the sinner must tremble; but he who truly believes in Christ, may rejoice in the testimony that sin is forgiven, and iniquity covered, through his perfect obedience and all-sufficient sufferings and death, and that there is thenceforth "no condemnation to them that are in Christ Jesus, who walk not after the flesh but after the spirit."—And he is a God of peace, because wherever the principles of the gospel of Christ prevail, they promote peace on earth, and good will towards men, in all their intercourse with each other.

O! that this God of love and peace may dwell in all your hearts by faith, that he may make you, as individuals and as a body, among the surrounding heathen, as lights shining in a dark place, as cities set on a hill, which cannot be hid; that instead of being a reproach and a hindrance, as ungodly Christians must necessarily be, to the progress of religion, you may adorn the doctrine of Christ your Saviour in all things.

And now, in the words of the holy apostle, finally, brethren, farewell. It has been our lot, by God's providence, to sojourn together through a period of no ordinary interest, to pass together through scenes of excitement and of peril, such as rarely fall to the lot of British troops in this country, and still more rarely to that of the ministers of the gospel. We have seen abundant reason to extol the providential mercy of our God in our protection; but, at the same time, we have seen much which is well fitted to remind us how frail is the thread of life; and many can recal comrades and friends, young, brave, and full of sanguine hopes as to the future, but a few months ago, whose ashes are now mouldering in a distant land, while their spirits have gone to give account of the things done in the body. No man, with the responsible spiritual charge which I have held, could retrace such a period without seeing abundant cause for regret and humiliation over opportunities of usefulness let slip, which can never be recalled. I *do*, indeed, deeply feel and deeply regret them; yet I trust it has in the main been my endeavour, as far as such harassing circumstances would permit, to teach you the good and the right way—to improve the opportunities af-

forded by passing events for impressing on your minds the importance of the things of eternity, to awaken your regard for the welfare of your souls, and to point to the cross of Christ as affording the only hope of salvation. But at length the time has come when we must part, some to return to their native land, some to remain on this spot; the present is the last time at which I can hope to address you collectively, and with regard to the great majority before me, as your teacher and minister, in all human probability, you will see my face no more. To say that I wish you well, would inadequately indeed express my sentiments towards you. The period we have spent together has been one of common toil and peril, and if community of labour and danger do not link men's hearts together, what can unite them? I do, indeed, implore God to bestow upon you, for his dear Son's sake, his preserving grace in this world, his glorious presence in the world to come. I have said that many will see my face no more, but shall we *never* meet again? Yes, brethren, there is *one* solemn review at which our whole company must be again assembled. "We must *all* appear at the judgment seat of Christ to give account of the things done in the body." There I must give

account how I have taught, and you how you have heard, and received, and obeyed, the instruction given. May God deal with us in his mercy on that day, through the merits and mediation of his Son. But, brethren, I charge you, keep it in mind and prepare for it. I have told you that there is only one way of salvation, and that is, through faith in Christ. Seek that blessed Saviour, I beseech you, while he may be found. I have done my best to warn you against those sins which destroy the soul, and by which the British soldier is most easily beset. Watch against and avoid drunkenness; where other sins have destroyed their thousands, this has slain its tens of thousands. Almost every crime, in this country more especially, may be traced to its maddening, infatuating influence. Love, and prize, and read the Scriptures—the message of God, the charter of your inheritance, your guide in the path that leads to it. Continue in prayer—it is the vital breathing of the soul, and he who never prays is like a breathless corpse, dead in trespasses and sins. Choose for your companions and friends, the sober, the orderly and obedient, the wise and good; and avoid the intemperate, the disorderly, the murmuring, the vicious; knowing that "evil communica-

tions corrupt good manners." May God send you a kind, a wise, and faithful minister, who will watch over your souls, as one that must give account; and O! that when we are called to deliver up *our* account, I may meet you every one, with joy and not with grief, united once again, and never to be separated throughout eternity.

Finally, brethren, farewell; be perfect, be of good comfort, be of one mind, live in peace, and the God of love and peace shall be with you.

Ferozepore, Jan. 8, 1843.

THE END.

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